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A PUBLICATION OF THE
CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

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CORRESPONDENCE

The 53rd special meltdown

Thanks for publishing Bruce Bialosky's article on Republicans losing the mid-September 53rd Assembly District special election. ("The 53rd A.D. debacle," Bruce L. Bialosky, *CPR Online*, Sept. 20, 2005).

I worked with Bruce while coalitions director for Bush California '04. Bruce is the best; if we had more like him we would never lose.

Teresa Brubaker
Las Vegas, NV.

Mr. Bialosky's article can be read online at www.cppf.us. Type "bialosky" in the box beneath "CPR Search," and click on the link provided; or, in your browser's URL box, type: http://www.cppf.us/OnlineOriginals/Columns/2005/09Sept05/092005BB.html
— editor

Thank you for Mr. Bialosky's "The 53rd A.D. debacle." I live in the 53rd. This election is crying out for some in-depth reporting and Mr. Bialosky's article is a good start.

The 2004 Republican nominee for this seat, Greg Hill, filed for the race but dropped out after the Republican Assembly Caucus lined up behind Mary Jo Ford. Ford spent lots of money (more than $200,000; I personally received seven mailers from her in the short six week election season) but fell victim to *Daily Breeze* revelations that she had been a registered Democrat, and then a registered American Independent Party member, before becoming a Republican. She had said and put in her mailers that she was a life-long Republican. When confronted about her previous registrations, she initially denied them. After the *Breeze* printed a second story with pictures of her voter registration forms confirming both her Democrat and AIP registrations, she admitted the allegations were true.

Before she ran, no one in 53rd district Republican activist circles had heard of her. Some folks believe she was a Democrat "plant." My Sacramento contact said she was recommended to them by Dennis Hastert's office (yes, the one in Washington). I voted for her because I understood that the caucus was broke and would not be sending any money to our district. If our seat was to go Republican, she was the choice. She opposed tax increases and homosexual marriage, owned two guns and supported the Second Amendment, and supported curbs on

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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION, 10/10/05

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Extent and nature of circulation	Avg. copies each issue preceeding 12 months	Actual copies of single issue pub. nearest to filing date
A. Total no. copies printed	2467	3500
B1. Out-of-County paid circulation periodicals mail	1186	1734
B2. In County paid circulation, mail	197	261
B3. Paid circulation, non-USPS distribution	343	1000
B4. Other paid, mail circulation	80	20
C. Total paid circulation	1806	3015
D1. Out-of-County free distribution periodicals mail	323	261
D2. In County free distribution periodicals mail	45	0
D3. Other free distribution by mail	0	0
E. Free distribution, not mail	23	50
F. Total free distribution	391	311
G. Total distribution	2197	3326
H. Copies not distributed	270	174
I. Total	2467	3500
J. Percent paid and/or requested circulation	82.2%	90.65%

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. John Kurzweil, Editor

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Since the late Dinah Washington (if you're a mellow jazz fan, go to Amazon.com and buy one of her records) is, in fact, the *late* Dinah Washington, she couldn't have been thinking of Sacramento this month any of the hundreds of times she sang "What a difference a day makes." But the title of her biggest hit is appropriate.

Okay, perhaps not literally days, but mere weeks ago the Democrats thought they were sitting pretty for the November election. Their "all smear all the time" campaign had driven the governor's approval ratings into the 30s, and public support for his propositions had sunk along with his personal poll numbers.

But ... it turns out the Democrats and their union masters may have spent most of their gazillion dollars when voters weren't paying much attention. Commercials shown 40 times a day (literally true in some markets) saying only: "Arnold Schwarzenegger is a lying snake" will likely cause folks who hear them to give Schwarzenegger poor marks when the next pollster calls. But that response is like recalling the local car dealer's commercial jingle: it shows awareness but not necessarily preference. Knowing that "John Doe Chrysler-Plymouth" has a catchy jingle is only one part — probably not the most important — of making you buy his car next time you're in the market.

As of mid-October, it appears this may well be what has happened to the Democrats. Recent surveys are indicating a surge in "yes" votes for the governor's propositions, as well as recovery in his personal ratings. It seems voters have moved from the "memory-recall" phase of listening to political commercials to thinking about them. Call it either shrewd calculation or blind luck, the governor's allies have spent nearly all their money very recently, when voters are paying attention.

Bottom line: this is now a horse race — the final stretch of a horse race — with the nag that had led from the start showing growing fatigue (the California Teachers Association, having hocked its main headquarters building for $50 million early this year, having spent all the money to decapitate Schwarzenegger, and now seeing the Governator striding about the countryside, his head firmly where it ought to be [from his, not their, perspective], is now talking about its own impending bankruptcy — where, without forced collection of union dues for politics, will the funds be found to repay the $50 million? — and reportedly desperately seeking a new $30 to $40 million line of credit.)

On the other side, the governor's people are talking confidently about possible victory for several initiatives, given the right turn-out model (GOP volunteers take note). Passage of Paycheck Protection alone could bring on a Democrat implosion; throw in redistricting reform, and the transformative effects for California politics would last for years, possibly decades. At the least, it would severely cripple the Democrat/union death grip on Sacramento. It might even mute, for a while (it can never be stopped entirely), the "California is hopelessly liberal" bosh pedaled in the media lo these many years.

So praise the Lord and pass the ammunition. Given low turnout, the "ground game" of getting like-minded voters to the polls may well determine which side wins. Two weeks ago most professionals would have told you Schwarzenegger's poll numbers were just too weak for any GOP turnout operation to make any difference. No more. The gov' and his propositions appear to have the momentum. Paging Dinah Washington ... we need an encore!

— A.P.C.

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Business Trends

Not *just* the nation — the world watches us

Japan voted to move forward; Germany backward. November 8 is California's turn.

JAMES W. ROBINSON

With recent elections in Japan and Germany delivering a mixed verdict for advocates of conservative reform, global business leaders and investors are now turning their sights to California and the November 8 special election.

Despite obvious differences on many levels, the developed economies of the Western nations and Japan face a compelling set of common challenges. Governments have promised cradle-to-grave benefits they can no longer afford. The elderly population is expanding rapidly while, in relative terms, the ranks of workers and taxpayers are shrinking. The cumulative impact of taxes, regulations, and mandates on the private sector has stifled growth, innovation, and job creation.

Nonetheless, voters have been famously reluctant to support even modest changes in benefits and programs to reflect these demographic and fiscal realities. Just ask President Bush, whose good ideas for modernizing Social Security have gone nowhere.

Meanwhile, the rise of behemoth competitors like China and India gives global capital increasingly attractive alternatives to the high cost business centers of the West. Like it or not, this capital has little conscience. In a worldwide economy it goes where it is welcome, where it is safe, and where it has the potential for making a profit. The decision makers who steer this capital are constantly weighing and judging the attractiveness and competitiveness of national — and state — economies.

The September 11 parliamentary elections in Japan, which Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi framed as a referendum on reform, were a welcome surprise. The Japanese economy — still the world's second largest — has languished for more than a decade as a paralyzed political system and complacent citizenry stymied efforts to open markets, fix ailing banks, and retool industries for heightened global competition.

Under Koizumi's leadership, the Japanese economy has recently started to grow. To accelerate this growth, Koizumi crafted a reform program centered on the privatization of Japan Post, which not only delivers mail but serves as the largest savings institution and insurance carrier in the world. When Diet members, including those in his own party, refused to go along, Koizumi called his own version of a special election. Barnstorming the country with an impressive display of American-style campaign skills, he convinced the Japanese public to support his free market ideas overwhelmingly.

It was a daring roll of the dice. Koizumi has been called Japan's Richard Gere but with this election he proved himself to be Japan's Arnold Schwarzenegger.

The September 18 elections in Germany were another matter. As the results came in, I was sitting in a restaurant in Düsseldorf with a handful of German business executives. A laptop was wheeled up to the table and every few minutes someone would hit the refresh button to see the latest tallies.

The depression grew with each click of the mouse. The Christian Democrats, the leading center-right party led by Angela Merkel, started the campaign with a 20-point lead but ended up edging Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and his Social Democrat Party by just one point. Merkel and her coalition partners, who together campaigned on a platform of entitlement restraint and economic deregulation, garnered just 45 percent of the vote. Merkel and her Christian Democrats will get the chance to participate in a coalition govern-

---

James W. Robinson is a senior vice president at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The views expressed are his own.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Contined from page 2)

illegal immigration (but never got around to supporting Assemblyman Ray Haynes' Border Police proposal). She favored legalized abortion but supported parental notification and a ban on partial-birth abortion. While all that did not come out in her literature, "no tax increase" and curbs on illegal immigration did. She advertised herself as "Independent like you."

Greg Hill had planned his marriage for August 18 with a honeymoon to follow (before [deceased Democrat incumbent Mike] Gordon's death was public). He refused to postpone the event even as he ran for the seat. Before the caucus got behind Ford, Hill's internal polling showed him winning over [eventual victor Democrat Ted] Lieu by 8 points. The knock on Hill was that he could not raise money and the assembly caucus had no funds to put into the race. He also had high negatives with decline to states.

But Sacramento doesn't understand that the vast majority of coastal "decline to states" are really Democrats for whom the Democrat Party also holds high negatives. Sacramento Republicans apparently wanted someone they thought would appeal to the 20 percent share of decline to states that lean toward the GOP.

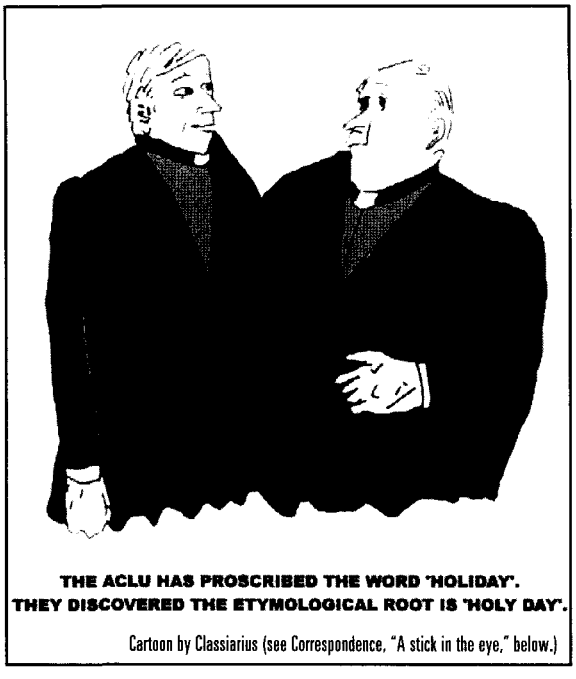
I voted at 11 a.m. on election day and ran into not one, but two young men in their late 20s or early 30s watching my Torrance precinct, which tends more Democrat than Republican in registration (although Torrance votes majority Republican in every major race).

I later confirmed that the Assembly Democrat Caucus had sent two busloads of staffers to work election day. Republican precinct workers who were scheduled to come didn't show up. I assume an internal poll confirmed the election outcome long before it was known publicly.

I'm sure research on voting by party would show this was a base election with very low decline to state turnout. The voting was mostly along party lines. Basically, Democrats turned out their base; Republicans didn't.

Bottom line: no leadership, no Republican coordination, no one really taking the special seriously.

G. Rick Marshall
Torrance



THE ACLU HAS PROSCRIBED THE WORD 'HOLIDAY'. THEY DISCOVERED THE ETYMOLOGICAL ROOT IS 'HOLY DAY'.

Cartoon by Classiarius (see Correspondence, "A stick in the eye," below.)

A stick in the eye

I enjoyed G.B. Tennyson's "Of Saltimbancoes, Quacksalvers, Charlatans, and Mountebanks" (*CPR*, Sept./Oct.), and pass along a cartoon [reprinted, this page] from my web site:

http://www.geocities.com/bikeman_1933/

where a friend (Curt) and I try to poke a stick in the eye of the left.

Classiarius

Prison guard shock

I was astonished to see a full-color, full-page ad from the California Correctional Peace Officers Association in the latest *California Political Review*. I distinctly remember reading that CCPOA gave Gray Davis's re-election campaign a huge contribution quite close to the time the former governor inked a particularly lucrative contract with the union. The apparent *quid pro quo* seemed so blatant I'm surprised the ex-governor and CCPOA leadership are not themselves being guarded by the rank and file. Are not bribery and influence peddling illegal in this state? I also distinctly remember hearing rumors that, just before CCPOA contracts come up for negotiation, trouble occurs in one or another of California's prisons, apparently conveniently to support the union's demands.

A new prison was built in California City, but holds no California prisoners. It was built and run by a civilian contractor. I think it was Davis who signed a law strongly supported by CCPOA to prohibit the use of non-union prisons in California. So all the new jobs and relieved prison overcrowding this new prison was to accomplish came to naught.

Is *CPR's* acceptance of this ad money a case of selling rope ("When it comes time to hang the capitalists they will sell us the rope." — Lenin)? Does CCPOA think it can once again fool the tough-on-crime Right because it represents the ultimate law enforcement — and has *CPR* been so fooled? Or is this a case that the CCPOA sees the writing on the

(Please turn to page 7)

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ment, but they will be hard-pressed to claim a mandate for reform.

The election results were a bitter disappointment to many German business leaders. Their economy has also shown signs of recovery — thanks to difficult cost-cutting decisions by companies and some precedent-setting concessions by Germany's powerful unions. The country's staggering 12 percent unemployment rate has begun to improve.

YET CONTINUED progress depends critically on policies that not only rein in social spending, but also rewrite employment laws that now mandate an astounding array of employer-paid benefits and make it virtually impossible to fire workers.

Now the focus shifts to California, where — like Japan and Germany — the economy has also started to rebound. Californians have more than the national recovery to thank. By blocking tax increases and by rejecting the liberal state Legislature's perennial basket of new business regulations, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger has measurably improved California's business climate. The state's jobless rate is now in synch with the national average. Increased business activity, profits and income have helped replenish state tax coffers. California's credit rating has begun to climb.

Corporate leaders I talk to have taken note. Yet investors and companies remain concerned about the chokehold that public employee unions, trial lawyers, and other anti-business activists have over the political and policymaking process. They are troubled by the way unions exploit their influence on the CalPERS board and in equities markets to malign companies and force them into concessions. They are perplexed by California's readiness to "go it alone": embracing regulatory schemes that exceed the policymaking consensus in Washington — and perhaps the boundaries of the U.S. Constitution. And they seriously question whether California, with a ceaselessly expanding population, overstretched infrastructure, and mediocre

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

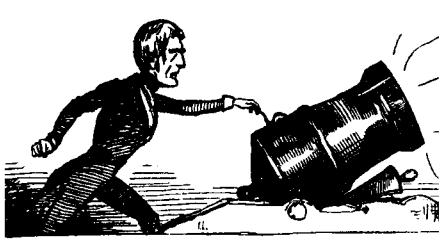
It's no secret the average gun owner really wants to support Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. But a lot of us are still smarting over his signature last year of AB 50, a ban on .50 BMG rifles, weapons never used in any crime. AB 50 served solely, like so much "gun control" legislation, to harrass law-abiding citizens. It's hard to forgive and forget, especially that episode.

The big question — which way the governor would step this year — has been answered for everyone with a strong interest in preserving the Second Amendment. Put simply: he wants us to love him, but not too much.

He vetoed the number one anti-gun bill, Mark Ridley-Thomas's AB 996, which would have imposed extreme regulations on handgun ammo storage by retailers. And he even signed the one real pro-gun bill sent to him, SB 269, re-legalizing single shot handguns for sale and transfer in California. This, of course, pleased the pro-Second Amendment community.

But the governor also covered his bets with anti-gunners by signing AB 88 (separate offenses for "assault weapons" violations), AB 1060, imposing more intrusive police reporting rules on guns taken into custody, and SB 48, requiring ammo dealers to ask for customer IDs.

At least this administration's pragmatic moderates did not insist that the governor disregard the gun



folks "'cuz they ain't got no place else to go." That saved them a very public, painful backlash that could have cost them the pro-gun voting block completely this November.

The gun rights community *does* have somewhere to go: a comfy place called a couch in their family room on election day — and they can do it *en masse* (as they did in 1998, largely sitting out Dan Lungren's GOP race for governor, remembering that Congressman Lungren never voted with the NRA).

But now, because he didn't drop-kick us off the playing field — the bad bills he signed were not really too bad (just bad enough to please the anti-gunners) — and because gun owners tend to agree with the November ballot measures), they probably will get out and vote, although their enthusiasm for this alliance is likely to remain moderate .... like the governor himself. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 5)

wall with the reduction in union membership and the loss of funding from Proposition 75, and is trying to get in good with the Right before it's too late?

Norman Hines
Ridgecrest

CPR Editor John Kurzweil responds

Lenin's point was that capitalists' fixation on profit would keep them from noticing that they were cooperating in their own destruction. But Mr. Hines probably read about the CCPOA/Davis donations and special favors in *CPR,* which in any event published several articles and news items on the issue at the time the events were occurring. That is, we are not exchanging the means to destroy us for their money, but using their money to fulfill our mission, which includes reporting on undue union influence in state government. (*CPR's* lead articles in both the issue carrying the CCPOA ad and the issue just before it were exposés of union domination of California state government.) Some pertinent points to bear in mind about such advertising:

1. Advertising exists (from *CPR's* perspective) to help make publishing possible; editorial exists to fulfill our mission. The danger to be avoided is permitting advertisers to dictate or even influence editorial content. As the very issue of *CPR* in question proves, we have avoided that.

2. CCPOA "image ads" (along with several other such ads) have appeared for several years in the issues of *CPR* that come out at the time of the state Republican Party's semi-annual conventions. The prison guards' efforts to "get in good with the Right" is a long-established, ongoing campaign; part of, I am certain, a much larger continuous effort to gain and maintain a positive image with anyone interested in state politics. Conservatives could learn from such a serious approach to politicking, but that is another topic. The point is that these ads permit us, by paying the added costs involved, to distribute two issues yearly — including our editorial content and their ads — to more than 1,000 of California's most dedicated Republican activists: our core audience, if any people are. They also contribute significantly to *CPR's* overall ability to continue in existance. But is the "price" — providing

people often opposed to our position a platform to burnish their image — worth it? That leads to a final point:

3. (a) These are image ads; not polemical attacks urging, say, defeat of the Schwarzenegger reforms, which would require specific refutation in *CPR;* and (b), and most importantly, it should be a basic tenet of every conservative's tactical training that our side always wins a thorough, honest debate. As C.S. Lewis's senior devil Screwtape instructed his apprentice tempter about dealing with the soul he was assigned to corrupt: "The trouble about argument is that it moves the whole struggle onto the Enemy's own ground. He can argue too .... Even if a particular train of thought can be twisted so as to end in our favor, you will find that you have been strengthening in your patient the fatal habit of attending to universal issues and withdrawing his attention from the stream of immediate sense experiences .... Do remember you are there to fuddle him. From the way some of you young fiends talk, anyone would suppose it was our job to teach!"

The left, as usual, is 'way ahead of us on this, which is why they invest so heavily in manufacturing excuses for closing minds, for refusing even to hear what anyone but themselves is saying or thinking, *e.g.*, "political correctness." Conservatives too often seem unaware even that the argument is over truth itself, and that our position is with the truth. It is completely to our purpose for our side and their side to lay out their arguments for all to see and let the people choose. That is why we publish *CPR;* and publishing CCPOA's ads, besides helping fund the overall effort, aids our mission by encouraging genuine debate.

Time to cut and run?

Two years after "Mission Accomplished," Melanie Morgan was able to make her "Truth Tour" (*CPR,* Sept./Oct.) into a Baghdad where we are (supposedly) winning the War on Terror only via a convoy of heavily armored "Rhino" busses and HumVees manned by battle ready troopers. Sounds like a ride thru Saigon during the Tet Offensive. If this is the normal security level of the capital of Iraq, one has to wonder what things are like at those humanitarian reconstruction projects she mentions, which have a reputation of being targeted by the insurgents as collaborations with the occupation.

Sidney J. Jolly
La Mesa

CPR Editor John Kurzweil responds:

On Dec. 26, 1941 — about three weeks after Pearl Harbor — Winston

(Please turn to page 30)

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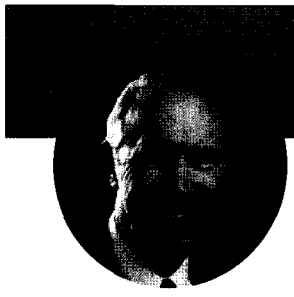
public education system, can maintain a globally competitive workforce, economy, and quality of life.

California's special election November 8 will not comprehensively address these concerns. But make no mistake: this election will be closely watched. Rejection of important (yet hardly revolutionary) measures to improve schools, control spending, rein in unions, and create more competitive elections would send the unfortunate message that Californians are backing away from the reform spirit embodied in the recall, that they are unwilling to free themselves from the grip that liberal special interests retain over the state's fiscal and economic affairs — a sad turn for a state finally on the mend.

But if Californians seize the opportunity to cross another milestone on the path to reform, they will signal their rejection of European-style overregulation and economic stagnation in favor of rejoining the competitive entrepreneurial economies that will shape and lead the world in the 21st century. CPR



Those in power over us

The Deadly Price of Politicized Science

One child lost to malaria every 30 seconds: Rachel Carson's murderous fable come true.

M. DAVID STIRLING

There was once a town in the heart of America where all life seemed to live in harmony with its surroundings ....

Then a strange blight crept over the area and everything began to change. Some evil spell had settled on the community: mysterious maladies swept the flocks of chickens; the cattle and sheep sickened and died. Everywhere was the shadow of death.

The farmers spoke of much illness among their families. In the town the doctors had become more and more puzzled by new kinds of sickness appearing among their patients. There had been several sudden and unexplained deaths, not only among adults but even among children, who would be stricken suddenly while at play and die within a few hours.

There was a strange stillness ... It was a spring without voices. On the mornings that had once throbbed with the dawn chorus of ... scores of bird voices there was now no sound; only silence lay over the fields and woods and marsh ....

In the gutters under the eaves and between the shingles of the roofs, a white granular powder still showed a few patches; some weeks before it had fallen like snow upon the roofs and the lawns, the fields and streams.

— *Rachel Carson,* Silent Spring,
Chapter 1: "A Fable for Tomorrow"

WITH THESE opening words of her 1962 best seller, *Silent Spring,* naturalist Rachel Carson launched a fatal attack on DDT (the "white granular powder" in the passage above) and the scientific community whose research and development of the chemical pesticide was saving lives and protecting public health around the world from the centuries-old killer diseases, malaria and typhus. On a larger scale, Rachel Carson gave birth to the powerful "pro-species — anti-people" social movement that soon became the hard-core environmentalism we know today.

"A Fable for Tomorrow" is a carefully contrived story that conjures up images of illness and death on a catastrophic scale, playing on the then still relatively

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new popular fear of mass annihilation from atomic weapons. As Carson's biographer understated it, the author "cleverly (used) the public's knowledge of atomic fallout as a reference point ....", implicitly associating her villain — pesticides — with it in readers' minds.[1] *(See "Notes," beginning page 11.)*

CARSON CLOSED her opening chapter by maintaining that "every one of these disasters [that her "Fable" described] has actually happened somewhere, and many real communities have already suffered a substantial number of them." She subtly suggested to her readers that recently deceased people in their communities who died of cancer were the victims of "the strange blight (that) crept over the area." She stirred readers' fear that they or their children will suffer a similar misfortune if DDT and other chemical pesticides continued in use: "A grim specter has crept upon us almost unnoticed, and this imagined tragedy may easily become a stark reality we all shall know."

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In 1944, a young college biology graduate, Gordon Edwards, entered Italy as a combat medic with the U.S. Army following the invasion at Anzio. The dread disease, typhus, which had killed millions of people throughout Europe — three million in Russia alone — during and following World War I, was beginning to claim victims among U.S. soldiers and local residents in Naples. It had to be stopped before becoming epidemic.

Dr. Paul Muller — who later would receive the Nobel Prize in Medicine for his efforts — had created a chemical in 1939 to kill the typhus-carrying lice, without harming people. He called it DDT. When typhus reappeared in 1944, chemists at Merck & Co. produced a batch of 500 pounds of DDT powder that was immediately flown to Italy. Every day for more than two weeks, Edwards "dusted" soldiers in their uniforms and locals in their clothes with the DDT powder, unavoidably breathing it in as he did so. It worked; the blood-sucking lice were successfully exterminated. The Surgeon General credited DDT with saving the lives of at least 5,000 American troops and an untold number of the local residents.

A few years later, the young Army DDT "duster" became Dr. Gordon Edwards, Ph.D, professor of entomology at San Jose State University. As one of the nation's leading authorities on DDT and its effects,

Bush's Iscariot

Conservatives are fearful that Harriet
Will be George Bush's Iscariot.
They have little doubt
That she'd sell them out
For a ride in a liberal's chariot.

Like everyone else, including the lady herself, I don't have the vaguest idea what kind of a supreme court justice Harriet Miers will make—if, indeed the president hangs tough and she eventually is confirmed.

But I do know one thing: The president made a first class political blunder when he picked her, kind of like his daddy raising taxes a couple of weeks before the 1990 congressional elections. This was a typical Bush family blunder—completely unnecessary and hurtful not just to the president's relations with his party but more important, to the party itself. That drool you see on the sidewalks these days comes from the Dems slobbering all over themselves with glee. The blood you see is the result of the president sticking sharp sticks in his supporters' eyes.

One thing you can bet: a lot of Republican politicians will be distancing themselves from the White House in the weeks ahead, figuring it's more important to hold on to their constituents than it is to hold on to their relations with the president.

I suspect the uproar from his base caught George W. completely by surprise. After naming John Roberts as chief justice I suspect he thought conservatives would not question who his next appointee would be. Boy, was he wrong.

Conservatives remember too well David Souter and Tony Kennedy and Sandra O'Connor and a multitude of other justices picked by Republican presidents who drifted leftward to show the liberal Washington elites that they had "grown" in the job. They are not willing to take a chance on a complete unknown whose only apparent qualification is her friendship with the president.

Having said all of this, the odds are good that Ms. Miers will be confirmed. The Democrats will see to it, just for the fun of it. The odds are not so good that she will turn out to be a bright and shining star on the historical record of her mentor and benefactor.

— by Lyn Nofziger

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his teaching, writing, and lecturing in the field of medical entomology spanned 50 years. From his personal experience and study, Edwards was convinced that DDT, appropriately used, was not harmful to humans or wildlife. To prove the point, "at the beginning of each DDT speech I made," Edwards said, "I would publicly eat a tablespoon of DDT powder."[2] Gordon Edwards suffered a fatal heart attack in 2004 while engaged in his favorite activity — mountain climbing in Glacier National Park. He was 84.

WHEN HE picked up *Silent Spring* for the first time, Dr. Edwards considered himself a dedicated environmentalist with, as he put it, "high hopes" regarding *Silent Spring's* publication. But reading the book changed that. "As I read the first several chapters," Dr. Edwards writes,[3] "I noticed many statements that I realized were false." At first he overlooked them because they were made by a fellow environmentalist. But as he read further, it became clearer that Carson "was really playing loose with the facts and was also deliberately wording many sentences in such a way as to make them imply certain things without actually saying them. She was carefully omitting everything that failed to support her thesis that pesticides were bad, that industry was bad, and that any scientists who did not support her views were bad .... It slowly dawned on me that I was being duped, along with millions of other Americans."

In his final article — published after his death[4] — Dr. Edwards told how his initial enthusiasm for the publication of *Silent Spring* turned sour.

> On the first page ... Rachel Carson wrote:
> "Dedicated to Dr. Albert Schweitzer, who said 'Man has lost the capacity to foresee and forestall. He will end by destroying the earth.'" She surely knew that he was referring to atomic warfare, but she implied that he meant there were deadly hazards from chemicals such as DDT. Because I had already found a great many untruths in her book, I obtained a copy of Dr. Schweitzer's autobiography, to see whether he even mentioned DDT. He wrote: "How much labor and waste of time these wicked insects do cause, but a ray of hope, in the use of DDT, is now held out to us."

Mr. Edwards said his disgust over Carson's politicized science changed him "from an 'environmentalist' to a scientist with a desire to keep truth in science and environmentalism." He lamented that "meetings of the Audubon Society and the Sierra Club became frustrating because everyone else praised Rachel Carson, while I knew that she had exaggerated, fabricated, and prevaricated throughout the book."[2]

But it was already too late "to keep truth in science and environmentalism." The media voraciously promoted *Silent Spring* into a best seller, with copies flying out of bookstores at the rate of 106,000 per week. Carson was interviewed by the respected television journalist Eric Sevareid on a "CBS Reports" program titled "The *Silent Spring* of Rachel Carson," reaching an audience of between 10 and 15 million people. Although Sevareid also interviewed a renowned Ph.D from the established scientific community who said, "If man were to faithfully follow the teachings of Miss Carson, we would return to the Dark Ages, and insects and disease and vermin would once again inherit the earth," the program portrayed in a much more favorable light Carson's dire message of impending disease and death from DDT and other pesticides. By the end of the program, Rachel Carson had been catapulted into near-celebrity status, the heroine of the emerging naturalist environmental movement in the United States.

In 1967, the Audubon Society created a lobbying

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arm called the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) to work toward a ban on DDT. Confident that momentum had swung to its side, EDF's chief scientist, Dr. Charles Wurster, publicly predicted: "If the environmentalists can win on DDT, they will achieve, and quite probably retain in other environmental issues, a level of authority they have never had before. Much more is at stake than DDT." [5] He was accurate on both counts.

EDF challenged the safety of DDT before the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1972, seeking a ban of the chemical pesticide. After a seven-month hearing, with testimony filling more than 9,000 pages, the EPA judge concluded that "DDT is not a carcinogenic ... hazard to man (and) does not have a deleterious effect on freshwater fish, esturarine organisms, wild birds or other wildlife." This was consistent with the position of reputable scientific organizations such as the National Academy of Sciences, which said: "To only a few chemicals does man owe as great a debt as to DDT. In little more than two decades DDT has prevented 500 million human deaths due to malaria that otherwise would have been inevitable." [6] And the World Health Organization (WHO) concluded: "The discontinuation of the use of DDT would be a disaster to world health." [7]

But William Ruckelshaus, the federal EPA's first administrator — named to the job by President Richard Nixon — "never attended a single day of the hearings," Gordon Edwards wrote, "and admitted that he did not read the transcripts." Nonetheless, Ruckelshaus "ignored the judge's decision and single-handedly banned DDT, effective January 1, 1972." [8] Although Ruckelshaus denied at the time that his overruling of the judge's conclusion was political, he later wrote that "in such decisions the ultimate judgment remains political." [9] Ruckelshaus later went to work for EDF, the same environmentalist organization that had convinced him as EPA administrator to ban DDT.

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According to historians, malaria has killed more people than any other disease in history. The deaths and debilitating sickness from malaria continued worldwide until, beginning shortly after World War II, the use of DDT largely eliminated the disease-carrying mosquito in country after country. It is beyond remarkable that *Silent Spring* never mentions that. As Dr. Edwards wrote: "Carson vividly describes the death of a bird that she thought may have been poisoned by a pesticide, but nowhere ... does she describe the death of any of the people who were dying of malaria ... and other diseases that are transmitted by insects." [3] And therein lies the monumental chasm between scientists who are environmentalists first, and "scientist[s] with a desire to keep truth in science and environmentalism."

Today, "(t)here are some 300 to 500 million reported cases of malaria each year, 90 percent of them occurring in Africa. According to the WHO, about two and a half million people die of the disease each year, again, mostly in Africa, the majority of them poor children ... about one child being lost to malaria every 30 seconds." [10]

When was the last time you saw the major media report that 2.5 million people are unnecessarily dying of malaria every year? So long as politicized science informs public attitudes about the state of the environment, we will continue down the harsh "pro-species — anti-people" path staked out by Rachel Carson and religiously followed by her naturalist disciples both in and out of government.

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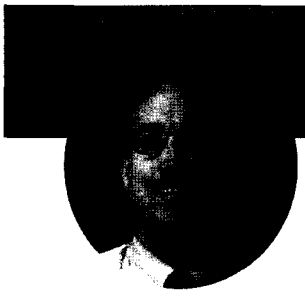

The Working Press

Rather espies a 'new journalism order'

But it's the same-old, same-old at the L.A. Times; the waning of Cindy Sheehan.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

ACCORDING TO *L.A. Weekly,* the *Los Angeles Times'* phone subscription solicitors are promising disgruntled conservative Angelenoes "a lot more conservative voices and conservative columnists" in the paper. Right. Yes, the *Times* has ousted Michael Kinsley as head of their opinion pages. But it has managed to move even farther to the left in his absence. The *Times* promptly promoted Andres Martinez to editorial-and-opinion editor. He makes Kinsley look philosophically circumspect. Martinez has said that he is "definitely liberal on social issues" and "unapologetically supportive of gay marriage."

♣ ♣ ♣

Thrilled to have something to work with during the dog days of August, the media propped up anti-war activist Cindy Sheehan. This was a replay of the media's cynical catering to the 9-11 widows. The circus revolving around Sheehan was reminiscent of "spin alley." Remember that? After one of last year's presidential debates, a placard was put up in spin alley to direct reporters to "9-11 widows" who were upset with George Bush for not addressing their concerns. The media's crassness had reached new heights.

But like the media's attention to the "Jersey Girls," which began strong then trailed off, its interest in Sheehan waned as her charges grew wilder and wilder. This was a happy consequence of what Dan Rather laments — the rise of a "new journalism order" (he made this comment at Fordham while fighting back tears; mark Rather down as another pro-abort the modern Jesuits have entertained). It is harder and harder for the media to use the Sheehans as proxies for their agenda because the Internet and talk radio quickly expose their views as demented. Then, when the alternative media has sufficiently rebutted their claims, the media drops these axe-grinding activists out of embarrassment.

Still, the Sheehan spectacle illustrated that as long as they can get away with it, the media will treat grief — provided the grief inspires a political position they like — as a source of lucidity and authority. Sheehan didn't speak for war widows and grieving moms any more than the Jersey Girls spoke for all relatives of 9/11 victims. But the media didn't care. Just as the media encouraged the Jersey Girls to act as though their grief somehow made them experts on rearranging the CIA, so they encouraged Sheehan to make outrageous demands upon the military's commander-in-chief. The media thought it reasonable to expect Bush to tailor his war strategy according to the feelings of an open crackpot. The absurd affair was only possible in a democracy in which a fatuous media can get its leaders, who are supposed to be thinking about the com-

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mon good, entangled in the most superficial controversies.

The *Wall Street Journal's* Dorothy Rabinowitz is one of the few journalists too hardheaded to pander to the grief merchants. She told the Jersey Girls to beat it. When one of them, Kristen Breitwester, submitted an op-ed to the *Wall Street Journal,* and expected the paper to accept the piece uncritically simply on the strength of her status as a grieving widow, Rabinowitz said no. She told the op-ed editor to reject the paper, arguing that it was "total and complete nonsense — not to mention repetitive nonsense — nonsense from people given endless media access to repeat the very same stupid charges, suspicions, and the rest ... this is just an opportunity for these absurd products of the *zeitgeist* — women clearly in the grip of the delusion that they know something, have some policy, and wisdom not given to the rest of us to know — to grab the spotlight."

Sheehan is one of these absurd products of the *zeitgeist* that Rabinowitz describes — a *zeitgeist* that gravitates to grief for commercial and ideological, not human, reasons. As Hurricane Katrina rendered her ongoing protests impossible (the media hurriedly left her in Crawford and went to Louisiana), Sheehan had to do her own version of the "9/11 Widows" placard, searching forlornly for reporters to stop and give her the jolt of celebrity that substitutes in a demented culture for compassion.

A bogus study's claim that unborn children feel no pain at all generated a flurry of tendentious media reports in August. "Researchers: Fetal Pain Not An Abortion Issue; Review of 2,000 Studies Concludes Fetus Feels Nothing Up to 29 Weeks," read one headline. Who were these "researchers"? Well, it turned out they were abortionists and abortion activists. A San Francisco abortion clinic doctor and a former NARAL employee spearheaded the article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA).* The story contended, unbelievably, that doctors can dismember a child up to 29 weeks in the womb with the child feeling nothing.

An honest headline on the stories would have been: "Abortionists: Fetal Pain Not An Abortion Issue." Naturally, the media knew the story was a propaganda crock, cooked up by self-serving abortionists. But the *New York Times,* in its inimitably imperious style of bias, couldn't bring itself to mention a word about the researchers' ties to the abortion industry. Its strained

Just as the media encouraged the Jersey Girls to act as though their grief somehow made them experts on rearranging the CIA, so they encouraged Sheehan to make outrageous demands upon the military's commander-in-chief.

story was titled, "Study Finds 29-week Fetuses Probably Feel No Pain and Need No Abortion Anesthesia."

Probably feel no pain? Improbably was the correct word. Stab the arm of a prematurely-delivered 29-week-child and it won't probably howl; it *will* howl. But according to the *Times'* summary of the study, not even crying is proof of pain: the "authors of the paper said that even crying or grimacing in a very premature infant did not necessarily signify pain because such infants often cry at even the lightest touch."

How did the *Los Angeles Times* treat the *JAMA* article? Basically as a useful press release. But the *Washington Post,* oddly enough, didn't cover the story at all. I don't know whether to chalk this up to prudence or just inattention.

The Associated Press, meanwhile, outdid itself. After outrageously trumpeting the false study ("Researchers say fetuses don't feel pain until late in pregnancy"), AP compounded its biased reporting by burying information about the researchers' abortion credentials, not in its first story — there this highly salient point escaped notice entirely — but in a *second* story, dealing with how the embattled *AMA Journal's* editor felt once it became known she had published this supposedly objective study with no disclosures: "Journal editor: Abortion opponents sending angry e-mails about article on fetal pain," not "Bias alleged in Journal story," or even "Abortion pain report lacked full disclosure." No, just a headline reminding us how angry those unpleasant "abortion opponents " always are.

The reason the left is stretching so hard to convince us that abortion is painless is, of course, politics. The immediate rationale for pushing the report is to head off Sam Brownback's bill in Congress, the "Unborn Child Pain Awareness Act," which would require doc-

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tors to tell women before performing abortions after 20 weeks that abortion *does* cause pain to the child. It also requires doctors to offer anesthesia for the child.

The left usually insists on anesthesia-softened executions of criminals on death row, but it wants no anesthesia for unborn children. That, they argue, poses an "unnecessary" risk to the lives of women. Practices the left wouldn't permit at animal hospitals or penitentiaries are so essential to its abortion project it will fake up scientific claims in hopes people will feel better about failing to afford the unborn child even the slight courtesy of deadening its pain.

An observer of the Nazi death camps once remarked on the increasing viciousness of the camp guards through the course of the war, saying: "those you abuse, you grow to hate" for, presumably, the weight of guilt they and their dead fellows lay on their abusers' shoulders. In a stunning example of the phenomenon, Margaret Sanger grandson Alexander Sanger has described the unborn child as a "liability, a threat, and a danger to the mother and to the other members of the family." The slightest consideration given unborn children might seem to hint that maybe we're dealing with human beings, so the left relegates them to a level below animals, unworthy of any humane considerations whatever. And, as they do so, they are consumed by their hate for fellow human beings they've never even seen. CPR

The Law

Newdow *vs.* the Pledge, the sequel

The athiest's anti-God jihad continues to miss its target.

HAROLD JOHNSON

SACRAMENTO EMERGENCY-ROOM physician Michael Newdow, probably the country's most famous atheist, wants the Pledge of Allegiance banned from public schools, on the theory that the words "Under God" amount to establishment of religion. He's now into his second anti-Pledge lawsuit against the Elk Grove School District south of Sacramento, and his litigating is spawning fascinating case law — but not primarily on the issue that brought him to court. So far, it's the procedural twists and turns that are creating precedents that could echo down the years.

You'll recall that Newdow originally won at the Ninth Circuit, but the case was tossed by the U.S. Supreme Court last year because he had named his elementary-school daughter as plaintiff, even though he did not have legal custody of the girl. The Supreme Court implicitly rebuked the Ninth Circuit for letting Newdow's lawsuit go forward in the face of the California Family Code rule that lets the custodial parent make decisions about the child's education and religious upbringing. (The girl's mother, who had custody, opposed Newdow's lawsuit and filed a friend-of-the-court brief supporting the Pledge.)

Some accused the Supreme Court of timidly ducking the religion-in-schools issue, but the court's decision was, in fact, a welcome affirmation of federalism. Questions of parental rights have traditionally been seen as matters of state law, to be dealt with by state legislators and state courts. Depending on how you read the Ninth Circuit's decision, it either contorted

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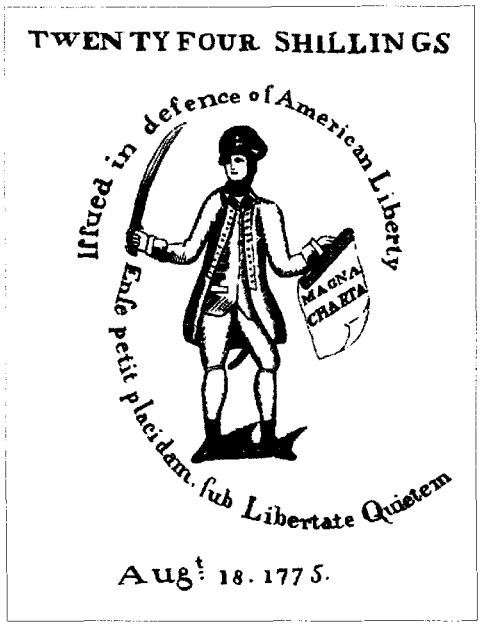
California rules, or replaced them with a new federal standard. Either way, state law was not shown deference, and the Supreme Court set that right.

Unfazed, Dr. Newdow returned to court this year with new plaintiffs: parents whose standing to sue on behalf of their children can't be questioned. But his new case has been driven into a new procedural thicket by Sacramento federal Judge Lawrence Karlton. In September, the judge ruled that he was bound by the previous Ninth Circuit decision and, therefore, the Elk Grove District flouts the First Amendment by having teachers lead students in the Pledge.


TWENTY FOUR SHILLINGS
Issued in defence of American Liberty
Ense petit placidam, sub Libertate Quietem
MAGNA CHARTA
Aug: 18. 1775.

Dr. Newdow's case has been driven into a new thicket by federal Judge Lawrence Karlton.

THIS RULING left nearly all legal commentators scratching their heads. It's "puzzling," said Stanford Law School Professor Pamela Karlan, that Judge Karlton said the Ninth Circuit case "commands him to do something, since that case was effectively wiped from the books by the Supreme Court's holding that Mr. Newdow didn't have standing." UCLA's Eugene Volokh concurred, blogging that the "Ninth Circuit's substantive decision [has lost] any precedential value ...."

It's true that, when a case is reversed because of a particular holding in the decision, it may still stand as precedent for other, unrelated points that it articulated. But this principle shouldn't apply to the Ninth Circuit ruling in Newdow's case. No part of that decision should bind other courts or Judge Karlton because the Supreme Court said the merits of Newdow's case should never have been addressed in the first place: Newdow had no standing to be in court.

So, the three-judge Ninth Circuit panel that considers Newdow's new lawsuit on appeal will first have to decide whether Judge Karlton is correct. The court's answer will give devotees of arcane points of civil procedure something to ponder and write up in law reviews, while future law students may find the question on exams.

But as for any other lasting legacy from Newdow's legal crusade against the Pledge, that is much less likely. In reversing the Ninth Circuit on procedural grounds last year, three Supreme Court justices took the occasion to state affirmatively that the Pledge, even when said in schools, does not violate the Establishment Clause. This statement should have surprised no one, because more than once while reviewing First Amendment issues, the court has observed in passing that the words "Under God" in the Pledge are perfectly constitutional, amounting to "ceremonial" patriotism.

In fact, the words are a quote from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (where the sixteenth president expressed the hope "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom"). The phrase's lineage stretches back from there to the Declaration of Independence, which defined human rights as "endowed by our Creator." The Gettysburg Address was in large part a rumination on the Declaration; Lincoln specifically cited the Declaration's proposition that "all men are created equal." His reference to the nation as "under God" was part of his restatement of the Declaration's propositions.

The Pledge restates those principles again. It is not a religious assertion, but a statement of simple fact — that America's founding belief holds that human beings enjoy rights as gifts from a higher power. In that sense, America is, by its self-understanding, a nation "Under God."

The Pledge acknowledges this fact; it is a fact that neither the Ninth Circuit nor the Supreme Court could erase from history or from our defining documents.

At the end of the day, the words won't be stricken, the Pledge won't be banished from schools, the Supreme Court will rule against Newdow and he will have to find another crusade into which to channel his curiously relentless zeal. CPR

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Role model

Schwarzenegger finally hitting stride

by William E. Saracino

Behaving like Winston Churchill in the darkest hours early in World War II, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger firmly yet serenely appears to be turning what many political professionals presumed only a matter of weeks ago was already a near-certain rout into at least a partial and possibly a smashing victory against his Democrat/Big Labor opponents. (Exactly, by the way, what my colleague Christopher Shelton, in last issue's *CPR*, suggested the governor *had* to do to win.) Latest word is that although the governor's spending-control measure (Proposition 76) continues to look weak, parental notification for minors' abortions (Prop. 73), teacher tenure (Prop. 74), and, far and away most importantly, paycheck protection (Prop. 75) are in strong positions to pass. Redistricting (Prop. 77) could go either way.

California's public employee union bosses reportedly split early this year over how to react when Schwarzenegger moved ahead with a special election, sending to the voters in the form of several ballot measures the major elements of his broad plan, born in the Gray Davis recall of 2003, to "blow up the boxes" of state government. It was, our sources tell us, unions representing, perhaps ironically, most state workers and police and prison guards that argued for working out some sort of compromise with the governor. But they were overruled by California Big Labor's eight hundred-pound gorillas: the California Teachers Association and the Service Employees International Union, which set a course of total war expected to annihilate the governor.

The resulting non-stop anti-Schwarzenegger saturation bombing over television succeeded in dragging down his formerly very high approval ratings, but failed in its main objective: goading Schwarzenegger, expected to panic as his numbers fell, into waving a white flag. Schwarzenegger is now in full attack mode, filling the airwaves with his pro-reform message. CTA worries publicly about going bankrupt. The union message against Proposition 75 — Paycheck Protection, ending Big Labor's practice of taking public employees' money for politics without permission — seems to be failing to persuade even its own members to oppose the measure. (And even the *Los Angeles Times* endorsed it, editorially arguing that "At many levels of government, public employee unions, aided by their

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political war chests, have gained control over both sides of the negotiating process. When public employee unions wield the type of influence they now do in California, too much governing becomes an exercise in self-dealing." The *Times* added that "Democrats may become more popular among voters if they are seen as less beholden to special interests" — statements that could have been written by 75's chief sponsor Lew Uhler.)

Making matters worse, big labor's *other* consistent campaign message, that the special election is a waste of time and money devoutly to be ignored, *has* taken hold among Democrat voters, leaving the governor's opponents in severe difficulty figuring out how to turn out their base (a large portion of which supports paycheck protection anyway) for an election their grand strategy was supposed to keep from happening.

So, Winston Schwarzenegger, having stood firm when virtually all the public commentators declared the issue decided against him, appears to be quietly but irresistibly reversing the course of this political war. We may soon see an outcome that devastates big labor's ability to dominate state politics, with Democrat office holders and Party leaders suddenly scrambling to be competitive in funding state and local candidate elections across California while back-peddling on the anti-business, anti-jobs policies they have championed as long and as consistently as memory goes back, which, in my case, is becoming a distressingly long way.

The road to this point, while anything but straight, is nonetheless rich with often surprisingly straightforward lessons about politics in supposedly (though not really) left-wing California. Four elements came together to create November 8's special election:

First, vast popular disgust with the irrelevance and self-absorption that had finally become a little too obviously the defining characteristic of California state government;

Second, a new Republican governor sufficiently inexperienced in politics to believe he can achieve dramatic change (good) but also blissfully unaware of the massive obstacles standing in his way (bad, but perhaps necessary for his optimism);

Third, a Republican campaign management culture still characterized at the top by an interest in making money first, winning elections distinctly second, and, a distant third (and often not at all), actually making a difference in the direction of state politics; and

Fourth, a state government *status quo* serving no one but a few unusually narrow (even for politics) interests — power-obsessed union bosses, breathtakingly greedy trial lawyers, and left-wing fringies — all of it at least superficially controlled by Democrat lawmakers devoid of any coherent governing vision large enough to keep them from becoming absolutely beholden, for the money they supply, to the union-lawyer-fringy special interests.

Beginning with elements one (the people) and four (the Democrats): notwithstanding the ubiquitous myth that Californians are overwhelmingly liberal, they really do not subscribe to the basic political program those at the top of the Democrat Party support: a socialist imperative that sees government growth and evermore intrusive control of everyone as good things in themselves, no matter the results for the people or the state. Consequently, the people rebelled when they realized the state is spending itself into bankruptcy, ignoring a dozen and more critical concerns affecting them intimately in their daily lives, and that their elected officials evidently care about nothing more than their own political careers.

They recalled Gray Davis and enthusiastically elected a governor sworn to transform Sacramento. Had these Californians been the liberals of, say, the Dianne Feinstein stripe they are routinely said to be, they would have reacted to the recall and its implications with the same horror Feinstein registered. They didn't. Democrat political leaders, for their part, consistently opposed everything the people were demanding, ignoring their own steadily, spectacularly low ratings and evidently counting on time and political weariness to diffuse the popular ire, just as their unrelenting bashing would force Schwarzenegger to back down. The for-

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mula had always worked before; why should it not again?

So the Sacramento Democrats, and the people, set the stage. Then element three, Arnold Schwarzenegger, taking the center of that stage, proposed what had been unthinkable in Sacramento through administrations Democrat and Republican and over dozens of years: let's restore what in popular myth always has been (and in reality should be, although rarely is) government's central concern, the people of the state as a whole. He made four specific proposals — capping run-away spending; reforming out-of-control state employee pensions (a major cause of run-away spending); returning state government's biggest budget item (and the people's number one concern), public education, to its real purpose — teaching — through the mechanism of merit pay for teachers; and ending a major mechanical factor working to shut the people out of lawmakers' consideration, gerrymandering.

Unfortunately, the very same youthful exuberance and almost playful innocence that allowed citizen-politician Schwarzenegger to make seriously such revolutionary proposals — proposals no grizzled political veteran (certainly not a Pete Wilson or even George Deukmejian and no conceivable Democrat governor) would make — evidently also kept him from noticing even the existence, much less appreciating the intransigence, of the vast power structure of vested interests that would oppose his plans energetically and unalterably.

Thus our learn-on-the-job governor began with an administration staffed with people more or less equal parts (a) tied to the *popular* interest his program championed and (b) tied to the *vested* interests his program threatened. This, predictably, resulted in civil war within the administration, the main casualties of which were two of the governor's four major proposals: a spending cap and merit pay. In addition, pension reform fell to political missteps for which neither the governor nor his team appear to be responsible, a fate that threatened redistricting reform as well when it became known that a substantially meaningless difference existed between the anti-gerrymandering proposition language submitted to the people and the language submitted to the attorney general for title and summary. For once, a judge used common sense and that threat went away. Still, three of the four pillars of the Schwarzenegger revolution had been defeated with barely a shot having been fired.

But just as matters seemed to be falling together beautifully for the Sacramento *status quo*, paycheck protection emerged, arising unexpectedly from the broad mood of reform and at a safe distance from the internal battles convulsing the governor's office. Championed by a bona fide movement conservative, National Tax Limitation President Lew Uhler, paycheck protection, along with redistricting reform and another, even more completely non-Schwarzenegger ballot measure, parental notification for minors' abortion (Proposition 73), gave back to the special election the major substance and potential impact lost with the demise of the spending cap, pension reform, and merit pay.

If Californians were the liberals of the Dianne Feinstein stripe they are said to be, they'd have reacted to the recall with the same horror Feinstein registered. They didn't.

The governor's innocent *naïveté* was also in evidence in his apparent hope that all-out war could be avoided by negotiating with his opponents. The governor apparently listened to the siren song of accommodation — whispered in his ear by the moderates in his administration and shouted at full voice by the media — assuring him that "progress" was possible if he would just work with the Democrats and unions. However, he eventually figured out that the me-

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dia/Democrat/union definition of "progress" is unconditional surrender. Not only were no substantial compromises ever forthcoming, but the Democrat/union cabal launched what I call the Great Mendacity Campaign (GMC): the ferocious, multi-million dollar ad barrage savaging the governor in the most personal of terms. I wonder if Arnold has commented to Mrs. Schwarzenegger on the tone and tenor of the assault launched against him by her Democrat friends. According to those commercials this was no mere policy dispute. It was not a matter of disagreement over a percentage point of spending here and there, or a simple argument about the best way to draw political district lines.

No, this was a great Manichean (for publik skool graduates that means "good vs. evil") battle to the death. The governor was "not to be trusted," a "liar" who wanted to "break the backs" of working families, a "cheat" who made promises to our schools only to break them later. These and more were the terms in which the Democrat/union machine defined the election.

Faced with the GMC, Team Schwarzenegger decided to remain silent, following a much-criticized strategy of waiting until the last few weeks before the election to return fire. This is the sort of calculation certain to rivet irremovably on anyone employing it the label "genius" if it works, and "fool" if it fails. For a long time it seemed to be failing. Now it seems to be working. With a few weeks to go, and given all that's happened, it seems imprudent to assume it will not manage two or more additional reversals of fortune before all is done.

Still, it is possible to reaffirm at least some basic rules of politics. It is almost always a mistake to permit months of damning charges to go unanswered. If that proves not so in this case, the most likely explanation is that the left's position had become just too indefensible overall for the people to be diverted from the path of reform no matter what volume or intensity of *ad hominem* attacks were piled on against the reform movement's leader. In addition, the movement was taken over (and retrieved from near oblivion) at the critical moment by an initiative (Prop. 75) not a part of the governor's original plan, an initiative, moreover, zeroing in on so scandalous, and yet so characteristic, an area of liberal misrule that, as we've seen, even the *L.A. Times* felt compelled to endorse it.

In addition, it is safe to reaffirm that the California Republican consultant-dominated campaign management culture remains a drag on effective GOP political activity. This is the third element in the four I listed at the top of this article and the final one to come into play. The conduct of this election by the governor's people supports the point. Again, if they win anyway, it will be in spite, not because of the way they typically operate.

To illustrate: a high-level Team Schwarzenegger strategist recently allowed that the governor's people, possibly to their surprise, discovered "about two months ago" that Proposition 73 — parental notification — "would drive [special election] turn-out our way." Consequently, people and resources have the past several weeks been diverted to bolster what had been the neglected cause of Prop. 73's passage. OK, except that most conservative activists had figured this out, and were talking about it widely, at least as early as late last year. Why did the cadre of top GOP campaign professionals take until late summer to get it? Part of the reason is that there remains among many of these professionals a still strong, though (one hopes) fading, anti-conservative grass roots *animus* left over from the Pete Wilson era. At best, they simply are not in the habit of taking rank and file Republican conservatives seriously and so tend not to think about how these people — their own Party's base voters, for crying out loud — can help even in the most obvious circumstances.

Another reason is the institutional conflict that hobbles Republican campaign consultants between their personal-professional interests and the interest of winning political campaigns. (For an excellent, thorough explanations of GOP

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consultants' strained existence, see Ray Haynes' "The Quiet Re-emergence of California Retail Politics," *CPR*, Sept./Oct. 2002). I won't go into the details now except to quote a short passage particularly apropos this year.

> [E]very strategy the Republican consultant devises [Haynes wrote] for the mostly *naïve* candidate is, understandably, heavily influenced by the necessity of making sure the consultant receives his 15 percent commission. That's how the bills are paid .... To put it bluntly: campaign activities that earn no commission aren't worth the consultant's time. And consultants don't get paid for work performed by grass roots activists on behalf of a candidate. Grass roots activist volunteers, by definition, work for free.

And if you aren't concerned about mobilizing Republican grass roots activists, you tend not to think about initiatives that would turn them out to vote — a blind spot not limited to considering the pro-family conservatives who care about parental notification.

In fact, the special election has been handled as a country club operation from the beginning, even though grass roots involvement is even more potentially decisive than usual for the governor's reform package — a package designed, after all, precisely to shift power from the special to the popular interest. Even so, the campaign missed several opportunities to bring the GOP army to life and, thereby, enable the governor to attach to the special election his broad theme: the people taking back their state.

Long before parental notification, for instance, Team Schwarzenegger blew its first, and possibly best, chance to mobilize the GOP grass roots when it allowed the Save Our License initiative to fail qualification last year. This was followed by blown opportunity number two: the decision to pursue milquetoast budget reforms instead of real spending caps. And, as we've seen, they almost blew their final chance with parental notification. Armies require a mission, and a mission to take a molehill does little to inspire the warriors. Paycheck protection and redistricting reform (Proposition 77) are important to political insiders, but not inspirational to large numbers of ordinary Californians. As a result, we are reading lots of news stories about volunteer "fatigue." They are not fatigued; they are just uninspired.

The good news for the governor is that the Democrat activists are also uninspired — the special should be ignored, remember? — and so *no one* is on the streets. Also, the governor's pro-parental notification efforts — finally working

If you aren't concerned about mobilizing Republican grass roots activists, you tend not to think about initiatives that would turn them out to vote.

the churches, for one thing — is already paying off in internal polling on who will turn out to vote. Though they are about three months late, at least they've started. But imagine the turn-out model if Save Our License had made the ballot. And a real spending cap initiative would have brought in the third part of our coalition. The mix would have changed the dynamic, and the cost, of this election.

The 2005 special election is as much about missed opportunities as it is about accountability and reform. The governor's Churchill-like steadfastness appears now to have restored the momentum to his own reform movement. It has been an unusual political ride, but has also, in its own way, proved again that not all the basic rules of politics have been repealed. One last such rule: it ain't over 'til it's over. GOP grass roots activists will still have to work hard to bring in this victory, by the oldest of old-fashioned methods: walking the precincts, talking to voters, getting them to the polls. Governator or no governator, that will still determine who wins in November. CPR

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CPR Special Election Roundtable

Final hand

A year-long high stakes poker game comes down to November 8.

Our five perspectives on the November Special Election begin with Kindergarten teacher Sandra Crandall on life lessons she teaches her young students — has anyone ever taught them to union leaders? She is followed by Bob Naylor (Prop. 76), Bill Mundell (Prop. 77), Assemblyman Chuck DeVore (Win now to win later), and Shawn Steel (Tom McClintock and the Special: the start of something big?). As "Equal Time," CPR reprints CTA's ballot measure recommendations.

SANDRA CRANDALL — LIFE LESSONS AND PROP. 75

Every September, I begin another exciting new school year for my Kindergarteners and me! Among the life lessons taught to these young children is the importance of asking permission and never taking things that aren't yours.

September is also the month I request my rebate from my teachers' union for expenditures that are deemed political and otherwise non-chargeable by the National Education Association, California Teachers Association and my local union.

For the 2005-06 school year, roughly $922 will be seized from my paycheck and the other 300 teachers in my district for unified union dues, including the $60 increase CTA is using to fight the ballot propositions. No one asked my permission.

Of that amount, CTA will rebate approximately 34 percent, or $313, that they admit they have used for expenses not related to collective bargaining. Those monies fund political causes, candidates, and issues I rarely support. Although CTA is using the $60 increase primarily for politics, they will only rebate part of the increase.

To get my money back, I have to ask permission. The union presumes I want them to have this money and use it on politics. Any silence, inaction, missed deadlines, or apathy on my part is interpreted as consent.

To have the money returned to me, I must be a nonmember. Nonmembers are denied certain benefits such as the $1 million professional liability policy. Non-

Kindergarten teacher Sandra Crandall is Fountain Valley Unified School District Teacher of the Year for 2004-2005. She serves as state coalition chairman for Yes on 75.

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members cannot hold office in the union or vote on the final contract.

Learning about being a nonmember and triggering a rebate is difficult. The purpose of local union officials making presentations is to convince teachers to join. Rarely is there a discussion of how dues are spent as it relates to politics or of the process of getting this money back.

School officials have no obligation to notify employees of union membership options or union expenditures. They simply act as a collection agency for the union.

No one else is allowed to make a presentation or place a flyer in teachers' mailboxes because the union has exclusive representation rights. Consequently, most teachers simply don't know their options.

For those teachers who *do* know their rights, they still must identify themselves every year by writing and asking for their money to be returned. This must be done within a 30-day window. When a teacher does nothing because they may not know what to do or how to do it, the union presumes consent and spends a portion of the money on politics.

Proposition 75, the Paycheck Protection Act, would change that presumption. Union officials would have to ask permission to take the portion of dues spent on politics. Consent would no longer be presumed by union officials but rather given by individual teachers.

Proposition 75 is so simple — just ask permission — even my Kindergarten children would understand it.

ROBERT W. NAYLOR — WHY CONSERVATIVES SHOULD SUPPORT PROP. 76

If you are looking for a tough limit on the growth of government in California, you will not find it in Prop. 76. But Prop. 76 (the Live Within Our Means Act — LWOM) is still a good deal. And it should be strongly supported for at least five reasons:

1. Still a useful spending limit. The spending limit formula — limiting the increase in spending to the average increase of total general fund and special fund revenues in the previous three years — is designed to match state spending more closely with the peaks and valleys of state revenues.

It is one essential prong of the notion of "living within our means." When there are spikes in revenue, the state will not be able to commit all the revenue to spending programs, so when there are revenue troughs, the Legislature will not be faced with cutting the new programs (which it never does) and indeed will have a "rainy day" fund to keep the old programs going.

The limit has another effect that conservatives should like: if taxes are increased by two-thirds vote of the Legislature, or if fees are increased by majority vote under the liberalized notion of the *Sinclair* case, they cannot immediately be spent unless the limit is above the available revenues.

2. Puts an adult in charge. The current system has the state flying on autopilot toward either bankruptcy or a major — I mean humongous — tax increase. The Legislative Analyst projects the operating shortfall in the 2006-7 budget at $6 billion, thanks to only $2 billion in ongoing savings enacted as part of the 2005-6 budget.

The Democrats will not enact the cuts needed to close the gap, and the Republicans (including the governor) will not support a tax increase. The governor's blue pencil authority does not give him the ability to change law (*i.e.*, cost of living allowances) necessary to cut spending. And so the state just borrows to cover the gap. It has been borrowing for five years and has the worst bond rating in the country.

Prop. 76 would give the governor, starting right away, the power to declare a fiscal emergency and, in the absence of quick legislative action (constrained, I might add, by the spending limit) make sufficient budget cuts to close the gap. Critics call that a major power grab. It is actually a power similar to what the Legislature by statute allowed Governor Jerry Brown and several previous governors. No matter how characterized, because of other cumulative dysfunctions, including ballot box budgeting, it is clear someone has to be able to take charge and be held accountable. Gray Davis needed this power just as much as Arnold Schwarzenegger.

3. Protects transportation. Transportation has been the major victim of recent budget shortfalls, with almost $3 billion "borrowed" from Prop. 42 (sales tax on gasoline) and other funds dedicated to transportation. Prop. 76 eliminates the power to suspend Prop. 42 or to borrow from it or the Highway Account, and it guarantees payback of old borrowing.

Bob Naylor was Assembly Republican Leader from 1984 to 1986 and served as California Republican Party chairman in 1987-'88, the last year, he likes to point out, that the Republican ticket carried California. As editor-in-chief of the Stanford Daily, *Naylor caused that newspaper to endorse Barry Goldwater for president in 1964. He practices government law in Sacramento with the firm of Nielsen, Merksamer, Parrinello, Mueller and Naylor.*

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4. Moderates Prop. 98 excesses. Prop. 98 is the school (K-14) minimum funding guarantee enacted in 1988 as an initiative sponsored by the California Teachers Association. Prop. 98 has put the state on a path of school financing that is unsustainable within the current tax structure.

Any state spending more than the minimum is added to the "base" from which funding is increased for inflation and enrollment (Gray Davis added billions under threat of CTA initiative, all of it built into the current base.)

Any time the state suspends Prop. 98 and spends less than the minimum guarantee, it is required to make up that money over time (this is called the "maintenance" factor), which means huge increases in education spending in times of fiscal recovery.

Prop. 76 eliminates these two features, maintains the enrollment/inflation guarantee and makes schools a more co-equal part of the budget process. And it also requires payback of the $3.8 billion Arnold is alleged to have promised the schools this year.

5. Keeps faith on unfunded state mandates. The California Constitution requires the state to pay for mandates it imposes on local government and schools, but the Legislature has gotten into the habit of deferring those payments. Deferments now total more than $2 billion. Prop. 76 requires that any mandate on local government be suspended in any year it is not funded and that outstanding mandate claims be paid back over a period of years.

Prop. 76 is an important reform. It is arguably the most important measure on the ballot in terms of making it possible for any governor to restore a semblance of fiscal sanity to Sacramento. Conservatives might want more, but they should not let the desire for perfection be the enemy of the good. Prop. 76 is not perfect. But it should be enthusiastically embraced.

BILL MUNDELL — REDISTRICTING IS FUNDAMENTAL

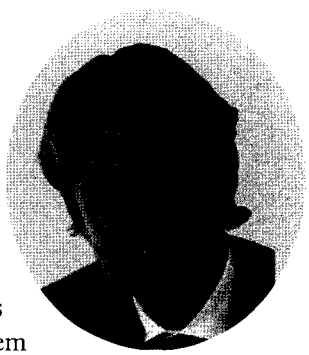
A month before the special election in California (the time of this writing) polls still indicated that the majority of Californians feel the election is unnecessary. If voters truly understood what is at stake on the ballot, particularly with Proposition 77, they would feel differently. Of the all the measures on the ballot, Proposition 77 — the Voter Empowerment Initiative — is the most fundamental:

The current system has the state flying on autopilot toward either bankruptcy or a major — I mean humongous — tax increase. Prop. 76 puts an adult in charge.
— Robert W. Naylor

fundamental in the sense that its passage not only renders the other initiatives less important; but it also will ultimately render many of those initiatives unnecessary.

The biggest obstacle to the passage of Proposition 77 is most likely the complacency people feel about the subject of gerrymandering. For almost 200 years, gerrymandering has been an integral part of the fabric of the American politics. So what is the urgency for reform?

First, the 2001 redistricting differed greatly from all previous redistrictings. Between the 1990 and 2000 censuses a technological sea change yielded mapping and database software capable of political voter profiling more sophisticated and precise than any before. The 2001 gerrymandering was positively Orwellian. Republican and Democrat redistricting deal-makers were able to fix the system with unprecedented certainty. In 2004, we saw the perverse result: a Legislature with a 25 percent approval rating managed a 100 percent re-election rate.


Bill Mundell

Second: our representatives, guaranteed re-election, have ceased to listen to the voters. Citizens have lost faith in their hearing impaired lawmakers. They feel compelled to resort increasingly to the initiative process to express their will to the point that the system is constantly and chaotically challenged. The proliferation of citizen initiatives filed this year with the Secretary of State was overwhelming, a staggering 84 as compared with the yearly average of 30-to-40 over the last decade. This "initiative inflation" indicates a failure of representative democracy in California. Most of these initiatives represent unfunded,

Concerned about disenfranchised California voters in the 2004 election, Bill Mundell formed Californians For Fair Redistricting last March to promote redistricting reform for California. Mr. Mundell is chairman and chief executive officer of Vidyah, Inc., a leading private U.S. educational organization, and chairman of International Knowledge Measurement (IKM), a knowledge assessment company.

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uncoordinated mandates. Is it any wonder that we have a budget crisis in California? By restoring fair elections to California, the balance will tilt back to the people and make a lot of these initiatives unnecessary. California will be manageable again.

Third, complacency is in itself dangerous. Since the redistricting of 2001, we have seen some of the lowest voter participation rates in the postwar period. It is legitimate to ask where this all leads. We take as a given our democracy here, but the founding fathers long ago advised us to be vigilant. The war in Iraq has highlighted the long-standing US foreign policy based on democracy promotion abroad. It is a legitimate question to ask how long this country can continue to preach about democracy abroad when we do not practice it at home.

Critics claim that reform cannot be effected in time for the June primary. But the very technology the politicians used to carve up this state like Swiss cheese can be used to expedite any redrawing of California's district maps. New York City recently had to draw districts for 9 million people in five boroughs. Using a software called Maptitudes — the exact same software used by the state of California — the task was accomplished in just six days. California could easily get the task done within a month. The constitutionality of mid-census reform has also been questioned, but three times between 1997 and 1998, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled such reform to be permissible, decisions that are still good law.

California's leadership crisis can be summarized by a

Equal Time

CTA'S Nov. 8 ballot recommendations

As posted on the California Teachers Association website: http://www.cta.org/CaliforniaEducator/v10i2Action_2.htm

To stop the governor's efforts to take the state in the wrong direction:

Vote NO on Prop. 74 — Don't blame teachers!
Public School Teachers. Waiting Period for Permanent Status. Dismissal. Initiative Statute.

- Changes the teacher probationary period from two years to five.
- Allows school boards to dismiss permanent teachers without a hearing after two unsatisfactory evaluations.
- Does nothing to improve public education or deal with real problems.
- Unfairly blames teachers for society's problems.

Vote NO on Prop. 75 — Don't buy paycheck deception!
Public Employee Union Dues. Required Employee Consent for Political Contributions. Initiative Statute.

- Has a hidden agenda to silence opponents of the governor's ideas.
- Targets only public employees, who have been leading the charge against the governor.
- Leaves the governor's corporate supporters untouched.
- Was put on the ballot by individuals with close ties to the governor.
- Is not about protecting workers' rights, contrary to its supporters' claims.

Vote NO on Prop. 76 — Don't cut school funding!
School Funding. State Spending. Initiative Constitutional Amendment.

- Undermines the state's system of checks and balances.
- Gives the governor broad new powers to cut funding for schools and other vital services without legislative oversight.
- Eliminates Voter-approved Prop. 98 funding guarantees for education and allows multiple midyear cuts in funding.
- Lets the governor get away without repaying money "borrowed" from education.

Vote NO on Prop. 77 — Redistricting the undemocratic way!
Reapportionment. Initiative Constitutional Amendment.

- Changes the state constitution to help one party gain an advantage over another.
- Redraws districts with old census numbers that leave millions off the map.
- Ignores the interests of minority communities.
- Entrusts redistricting to appointed judges who are not immune to partisan influence.

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California's leadership crisis can be summarized by a $6 billion deficit alongside a Legislature plagued by gridlock. Prop. 77 is as revolutionary for state politics as Prop. 13 was for the state economy.

— Bill Mundell

$6 billion deficit alongside a Legislature plagued by gridlock. Prop. 77 is as revolutionary for state politics as Prop. 13 was for the state economy. Its passage will be as transformative as Prop 13 has been for an unfair tax system. It has the same potential to ignite a spark that will light the way for people in many other states to do the same.

The special election of November 8 is more than an Armageddon clash between Arnold Schwarzenegger and the Democrat-dominated Legislature. While he rightly supports the Voter Empowerment Act, Proposition 77 is not Arnold Schwarzenegger. It is potentially the second Act of the recall, the second stage of a revolution the people initiated two years ago, possibly the vehicle to finish the job then in reclaiming their sovereignty and the power to redeem the California dream.

CHUCK DEVORE — WIN NOW TO WIN LATER

The impact of victory or defeat for the Schwarzenegger reforms will be played out over the next year, first in legislative skirmishes, then in the 2006 statewide elections. A sweep for Schwarzenegger's reforms will lead to his reelection, the election of Sen. Tom McClintock as lieutenant governor, the reelection of Secretary of State Bruce McPherson, as well as at least one to three other statewide constitutional officers. A loss will likely pare our strength down to one or two statewide electeds.

Thus, winning now leads to winning later. Winning now provides California Republicans with the momentum they need to roll back the gains made by the government union/trial attorney axis of greed.

That conservative prospects in California are so linked to Schwarzenegger strikes many as odd. Many conservatives are downright uncomfortable with the arrangement, given the governor's mixed record on judicial appointments, cabinet secretaries, and vetoes. Nevertheless, the governor is fighting hard to defeat a common enemy and his reform agenda deserves conservatives' unqualified support. Originally backing three propositions, 74 (teacher tenure reform), 76 (the "Live Within Our Means" budget reform) and 77 (fair redistricting), Schwarzenegger is now actively campaigning for Prop. 75 (the "Paycheck Protection" initiative) and has voiced support for Prop. 73 (the "Parental Notification" initiative). In fact, on September 23, Schwarzenegger invested $1.25 million of his personal wealth in the Yes on 77 fair redistricting initiative and challenged Silicon Valley entrepreneur Steve Poizner to match it, which he did.

So, why is it that our future success hinges on November 8?

To place our current situation into context, we need only journey back to 2002 when not one Republican won statewide office. Fortunately, the Democrats overreached. When former Gov. Gray Davis bungled the electric crisis, tripled the car tax, and signed legislation giving drivers licenses to illegal immigrants, he was recalled in October 2003. Fifty-five percent of the voters decided to oust a governor once thought to be headed to the White House. In 2004 none of the 153 congressional and legislative seats up for election changed partisan hands (serving as Exhibit A for Yes on 77). This year opened with the governor calling for budget, pension, teacher tenure, and redistricting reforms, only to see the majority Democrats in the Legislature swing back on the offensive, backed by tens of millions of dollars of union attack ads.

Chuck DeVore

Perhaps the best proof of the importance of this election can be seen in the importance that the other side attaches to it. The California Teachers Association (CTA) union, the largest union in the state with 330,000 members, mortgaged their Bay Area headquarters for $50 million to pay for ads attacking the governor and his reform agenda. We should look at where this compulsory union dues money is going.

The No on 74 campaign against reforming teacher tenure has taken in $8 million — $7 million of that coming from the CTA union mortgage.

The No on 75 effort to fight against union members' First Amendment rights has raised $28 million, with the bulk of it coming from the CTA union for $14 mil-

Chuck DeVore represents California's 70th Assembly District.

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lion. Much of the rest of it — $4 million — came from the SEIU (the Service Employees International Union, known in Sacramento as the "purple shirt" crowd — *see* "Big labor's political battering rams," Sam Paredes, *CPR*, July/Aug. 2005).

The No on 76 government spendthrift crew has amassed more than $21 million, with the CTA union weighing in for $13 million and SEIU for $1.25 million.

Rounding out the big four, the No on 77 let's destroy democracy team has raised a million dollars as of October 1, with $200,000 of that coming from the Trial Attorneys and $375,000 from "American Family Voices." American Family Voices is a D.C.-based entity that touts a board member formerly with the UN Foundation. (Having stopped meaningful reform at the UN, she must be compelled to stop reform in California).

One of the main umbrella groups for this effort on behalf of Big Government forever is the so-called "Alliance for a Better California," with over $9 million gathered from dozens of government unions, the greatest portion of it from the CTA union. Next to the CTA union's direct contributions, Alliance has given the most to the No Reform side.

All told, with five weeks to go before the election, the governor's opponents had gathered no less than $58 million to thwart his reform initiatives, with tens of millions more already spent to smear his name, drive down his poll numbers, and reduce his effectiveness. No doubt, much more will be spent by November 8.

Meanwhile, the No on 73 anti-parental rights forces have raised $1.6 million, more than a million of that from Planned Parenthood and more than $50,000 helpfully provided by a couple of ACLU chapters.

The true scope of this spending by the army of the *status quo* is quite impressive when you consider that the CTA union alone is spending more than $50 million. This is more than $150 in forced political contributions for each of the CTA union's 330,000 members — even those who opted out of the union and are mandated to pay "agency shop fees." Overall, teachers and other workers represented by CTA have been hit by their union with a $180 pay cut over the next three years to pay off the $50 million mortgage.

Ironically, it's an ambiguous Republican leading the charge against the partisans of excessive Big Government in California while the national conservative movement is sputtering, its intellectual vigor corroded by a decade of Congressional control that seems dedicated only the proposition that power is worth keeping at all costs.

For those conservatives who fret that Schwarzenegger will remold the Republican Party in his image and who thus are reluctant to join forces with him in the present battle, allow this word of advice: when in a firefight, shoot back, don't shoot the soldier next to you. Gov. Schwarzenegger is what we need now to reverse the gains the left has made in California in recent years. As was Ronald Reagan, he is a force of nature. Unlike Reagan, he is a transitional figure, lacking coherent ideas to inspire or a cohesive cadre to carry on in his name.

A successful reform drive in November will lead directly to the replenishment of the GOP bench in 2006 and the revitalization of the Republican Party's prospects. Failure? — failure in the special is not an option.

SHAWN STEEL — THE EMERGING McCLINTOCK ERA

Keep your eye on Tom. Everyone's noted the huge stakes the Special Election involves for Big Labor's special interest power struture, for the governor, and the future of California government, particularly the immediate, profound impact, should they pass, of paycheck protection (ending public employee unions' practice of taking from state workers, without permission, all the money the unions need to dominate the Capitol) and redistricting reform. But for the longer term, this election could have even greater significance for our state, depending on the results it brings, in what it means for the career of state Sen. Tom McClintock.

Sen. McClintock began to emerge as a formable statewide figure in 2003 when he resisted calls to withdraw from the recall election. Party leaders reproached his intransigence, but the senator knew better. His demeanor in the debates won him praise and helped define him as the smartest, most serious, and best informed guy in the room. Arnold was elected governor, but Tom emerged with the highest favorables statewide. The senator pulls more independents and Democrats. Now, for 2006, the man from Moorpark is running, so far unopposed, for the GOP lieutenant governor nomination. And the special election, like the

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recall earlier, is becoming as critical an event — perhaps, for the long term, an even more critical event — for the state in its McClintock as in its Schwarzenegger implications.

This special could advance the McClintock tide for years to come. Arnold — after trying to "negotiate" with legislative Democrats — eventually discovered that these supposed "leaders" were really pawns of the public employee unions. In effect, because they are so beholden to the massive funding the unions extort from all state workers, Democrat legislators hold no independent decision-making power. Arnold was stymied. He began threatening to use initiatives to go directly to the people. That brought us to this special election.

Due largely to his own political missteps, the governor enters the last few weeks before this election with all his political capital on the line while McClintock's stock continues to rise. The senator criticized some of Schwarzenegger's early moves, making their relationship at times frosty. But now, after tens of millions of dollars spent on largely unanswered TV attack ads against the governor, it turns out that McClintock's favorables exceed Schwarzenegger's. So — surprise! — the governor's handlers are asking *Tom* to join *Arnold's* campaign rallies. The governor's political advisors know the senator helps bring back independent and conservative Democrat voters. How ironic.

In addition, it's the overtly conservative initiatives that give this election most of its real drama. Parental Notification [Prop. 73] and Paycheck Protection [Prop. 75], incorporating core conservative principles, will, if passed, make a real, lasting difference in California, and the left-wing opposition knows it. But Arnold endorsed neither of them until the last minute while Tom was an early supporter of both. Without the governor, both these initiatives have prospered.

As to the governor's own propositions, teacher tenure [Prop. 74], mandating a minor, though still important, reform, is at least enough to bother the teachers union; Live Within Our Means [Prop. 76], a weakened substitute-for-a-cap spending control measure, was initially disapproved by McClintock and remains weak in current polls. The one really important measure in the governor's personal arsenal, redistricting reform [Prop. 77], is behind in several polls. This governor, however, may yet produce victories for Prop. 77 and possibly for 74 and 76 as well. But even should all three of the governor's measures lose, but either Prop. 73 or political earthquake Prop. 75 wins, he will still be able to claim victory in the Special Election and vindication for himself.

The special election, like the recall earlier, is becoming as critical an event for the state in its McClintock as in its Schwarzenegger implications.

— Shawn Steel

Any of these outcomes would be good news for McClintock. Each would likely give him zero 2006 primary opposition, permitting him, and Arnold, to march confidently toward the 2006 November general. The Team, I predict, would win an overwhelming victory. McClintock will serve as the governor's second term conscience. If Arnold then acts on *half* of McClintock's advice, California's business engine will explode into an unprecedented era of prosperity. Finally, conservatives can then look forward to a 2010 Tom for Governor movement, supported by a unified, grateful state GOP.

Oh, by the way, 2010 will mark 100 years since the election of the most dramatically and long-lastingly effective governor in state history: Hiram Johnson.

GREGORY SANFORD — YES ON 74

A married man or woman can, under our law, break off the marriage contract, walking out on their responsibilities to spouse and children for any reason whatever or no reason at all after one, 10, or 50 years of marriage — that's OK. But let California parents or taxpayers or school children try to wiggle free from an incompetent, useless teacher who's reached a magical two years of public school employment, and all the demons of He... — well, of the California Teachers Association will descend upon them breathing fire and spitting lawsuits. Should we really be tied to every third-year veteran teacher for life, no matter what his or her failings?

CTA says letting bad teachers be fired constitutes "blaming teachers for society's problems." If that's the way they talk to grown-ups, what must they be telling the kids? People charged with teaching responsibility, among other things, should not be afraid of assuming a little of it themselves. Yes on 74. CPR

Gregory Sandord is a free lance political writer.

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Why Californians are voting on parental notification*

Nine years ago, rogue judges subverted the law and assaulted the family in an unconstitutional decision. Now voters can restore respect for both.

by Mark S. Pulliam

** Proposition 73 on California's November 8 Special Election ballot, if passed, will require that parents be informed before their minor daughter undergoes an abortion. State law required parental consent in such cases until 1996 when the state Supreme Court led by Chief Justice Ron George threw the law out. The following excerpts from former* CPR *legal issues correspondent Mark S. Pulliam's "The Court's War on the Family," published in the July/August 1996* CPR, *explain the issues the case involved. The ruling against parental consent came shortly after this article was published. Although she voted to re-hear the case, then-new Justice Janice Rogers Brown wrote a strong dissent to the final anti-family ruling.*

— editor

CALIFORNIA'S SUPREME COURT may be on the verge of an awesome, unprecedented — and totally unnecessary — assault on parental authority. In a flip-flop reminiscent of a banana republic, on May 22, five members of the Court voted to "rehear" the pro-family decision the Court had just issued six weeks earlier in *American Academy of Pediatrics v. Lungren,* written by Justice Stanley Mosk, the Court's only Democrat appointee and usually its most liberal member. The composition of the Court changed after the initial decision was issued on April 4. Because two retiring jurists, Associate Justice Armand Arabian and Chief Justice Malcolm Lucas, voted before they departed with the 4-3 majority upholding California's statute requiring parental consent for a minor to have an abortion, their replacements, Ming Chin and Janice Brown, could provide the votes to overturn this fragile and hard-fought victory. Both Chin, a moderate, and Brown, a conservative, joined with the three dissenters — Justices Ron George, Joyce Kennard, and Kathryn Werdegar — to grant rehearing .... "Everyone is very happy," said an ACLU spokesman. "It looks like we may have snatched victory from the jaws of defeat."

Reversal of Justice Mosk's April 4 decision would be disastrous for two distinct reasons. First, it would represent the triumph of an improper, activist jurisprudence using so-called "independent state grounds" — construing the California Constitution more expansively than the U.S. Constitution — to invent non-existent constitutional rights from provisions dealing with "privacy" and "equal protection." When he was Attorney General, George Deukmejian warned that "[t]he growing use of the doctrine of independent state grounds," then being espoused by the liberal Rose Bird Court, "combined with a minimum of judicial restraint, threatens irreparable harm to our system of government. It emasculates the people's right to govern through the legislative process, and substitutes for legislation the judicial decree process." Curiously, however, the judges now advancing this dubious theory are Republican appointees: Chief Justice George and Justices Kennard and Werdegar.

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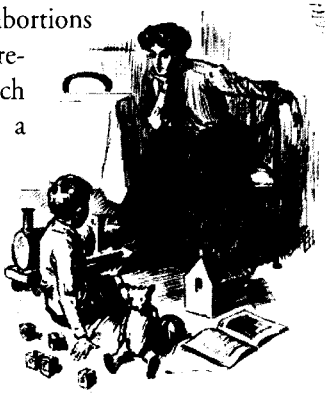
Second, as a matter of public policy, adoption of the dissenters' absolutist insistence that every consideration of law and policy must bow before the banner of "abortion rights" would be devastating. As U.S. Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia has pointed out, America is in the grip of a culture war, one in which various minority groups — homosexuals, radical feminists, and militant atheists, for example — seek to undermine the majority's moral values. Conferring on pregnant teenagers a constitutional right to abortion without parental consent represents a further erosion of the family unit and conventional sexual mores.

The Statute

The decision in *American Academy of Pediatrics v. Lungren* concerns a statute, A.B. 2274, passed by a Democrat-controlled Legislature in 1987 and signed into law by Governor George Deukmejian. A.B. 2274 prohibits most minor children from obtaining an abortion without either the consent of a parent or judicial approval. If a minor is unwilling or unable to obtain one of her parent's consent, she can seek judicial approval on an expedited basis from juvenile court with the right to a court-appointed counsel upon request ....

A.B. 2274 is consistent with the U.S. Constitution, as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court. In fact, in eight separate cases the U.S. Supreme Court has specifically upheld state laws such as A.B. 2274 requiring parental consent for abortions on unmarried, unemancipated minors. The California Legislature carefully followed the guidelines set forth in these decisions and even quoted from the U.S. Supreme Court decisions in the legislative "findings" supporting A.B. 2274.

The dissenting opinions represent a wrecking ball usurping the authority of the Legislature and demolishing the foundations of the family.



Thus, A.B. 2274 simply makes abortions subject to the same parental consent requirements for minors that apply to such things as getting married, obtaining a driver's license, using a tanning salon, or receiving most medical and dental treatment. A minor cannot even get a routine x-ray without parental consent. Moreover, A.B. 2274 is consistent with the laws of a majority of states, which require parental notice or consent before an unemancipated minor can terminate her pregnancy by an abortion.

The Issue

Parents have a compelling interest in fundamental decisions affecting their minor children. The California Supreme Court has long recognized that family privacy and parental authority are protected by the California Constitution. Indeed, in recent decisions the Court ruled that "[p]arenting is a fundamental right," and that a "parent's right to direct his child's upbringing ... [is] among the most basic of civil rights." Moreover, it also ruled that "The liberty interest of a minor is qualitatively different than that of an adult." That minors do not have the same legal status as adults is well-established in caselaw and is, of course, reflected in statutes virtually everywhere throughout California's legal codes. The legal issue presented by *Lungren,* which had never previously been decided by the Court, is whether the right of "privacy," explicitly added to the California Constitution in 1972, confers upon unemancipated minors the right to obtain an abortion without parental consent or judicial authorization. Eight U.S. Supreme Court decisions have said the U.S. Constitution confers no such right.

We are seeing an unprecedented moral crisis. Teenage pregnancy and illegitimate birth rates are skyrocketing. Everyone except the liberal elites seem to acknowledge that much of this crisis is attributable to the erosion of "family values" since the advent of the Great Society. Allan Carlson, president of the Rockford Institute, points out in his 1988 study, Family Questions,

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 7)

Churchill addressed the U.S. Congress saying:

"After all, when we are doing the noblest work in the world, not only defending our hearths, and homes but the cause of freedom in other lands, the question of whether deliverance comes in 1942, 1943, or 1944 falls into its proper place in the grand proportions of human history. Sure I am that this day — now — we are the masters of our fate; that the task which has been set us is not above our strength; that it's pangs and toils are not beyond our endurance. As long as we have faith in our cause and an unconquerable will power, salvation will not be denied us ....

"What kind of a people do they think we are? Is it possible they do not realize that we shall never cease to persevere against them until they have been taught a lesson which they and the world will never forget?"

All this after the world had been at war more than 10 years (from the beginning of the Japanese conquests) and would continue at war through most of four years more, and would continue after that dealing with the fallout of war for the rest of the century. Why did not Churchill urge Congress to dwell on our enemies' continued ability to murder, maim, disrupt, bully, and terrify not thousands of people in a capital city, but millions of people throughout the whole world? Because he was not the sort of fool Mr. Jolly apparently takes the American people for, the sort who think the measure of whether or not we fight evil is how easily it may be eliminated entirely — as though that ever happens — rather than the moral imperative to do the noblest work in the world, not only defending our hearths and homes but the cause of freedom in other lands. Mr. Jolly dismisses this work, calling it an "occupation."

Vietnam, by the way, was a victory, transformed into defeat only after we left and then, at the urging of the tyranny-lusting left, pulled out all our material support. This is treachery of the basest kind; and Mr. Jolly's implied point is that a wise man indulges in it as soon as he can find enough causes for whining to distract his own mind into forgetting the reasons he went to war in the first place. Think of it! We could have spared ourselves the Civil War, the World Wars, the Cold War, had we just shown such wisdom; of course, we would still have slavery, and, perhaps, Hitler's grandson rampaging through the world, or maybe communist barbarism of the sort still smashing people in Saigon as the defining characteristic of the 21st century world. After all, in Vietnam days, the line — remember it? — was "better red than dead."

What kind of a people do they think we are? What kind of a man is Mr. Jolly? — evidently the kind the Nazis and Japanese war leaders *thought* they confronted when they launched their miserable crusade of enslavement against us. Given a few million Jollys at that time and they would have succeeded, as the communist murderers did, thanks to the Jollys of a few decades later, in Southeast Asia. Read Solzhenytsyn, Mr. Jolly, and thank God most Americans continue to ignore people like you.

Pulliam

(Continued from page 29)

that for nearly 1500 years, regulation of adolescent sexual activity was accomplished by the application of an ascetic moral code that emphasized abstinence, marriage, and Judeo-Christian sexual mores. This moral code was inculcated primarily through the family, by parents raising their children. The explosion of teenage pregnancy and the out-of-wedlock birthrate coincides with the substitution for parental control of a new social model, one the California Supreme Court may soon begin imposing on the state. Carlson observes that "[i]n this new scheme, children are cast as wholly independent moral actors," and "adolescents have a 'right of privacy' which overrides parental control." Once the traditional family is weakened and parents are deprived of authority to raise their children, Carlson concludes, "only the welfare state — in the guise of state-funded family planning clinics — remains to fulfill the role, albeit through radically different means." Stripped to its essence, the dissenters in *Lungren* challenge the right of parents to act like parents .... These dissenting opinions represent a wrecking ball aimed at usurping the authority of the Legislature and demolishing the foundations of the family. In response to the Court's decision to grant rehearing on May 22, former California Supreme Court Justice William Clark, a Reagan appointee who served with distinction, lamented that "[m]y old court is simply wrong today. The courts are clearly substituting their own moral judgment for that of the people ...."

.... A final word: Five of the Court's seven justices will be on the ballot in 1998. Paraphrasing Santayana: those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.

Editor's note: November 8, Californians can reverse the anti-family, unconstitutional result of this case by passing Proposition 73.

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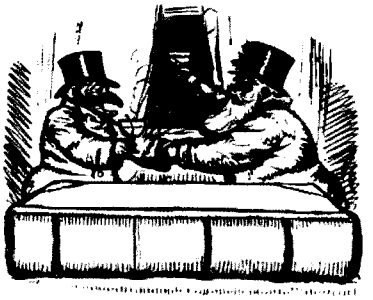

CRITICUS

Christmas is Coming

BY G.B. TENNYSON

Christmas is coming, the goose is getting fat.
Have you got a penny for an old man's hat?
If you haven't got a penny, a ha'penny will do.
If you haven't got a ha'penny, then God bless you.

YES, THERE are several variations in the words, including an Americanized version that, as I recall, substitutes "turkey" for goose and something like "nickel" or "quarter" for "ha'penny." Utter silliness. Considering that the ha'penny was discontinued (along with such delights as the shilling, sixpence, and farthing) more than thirty years ago, the charm of the old nursery-style song resides in the earlier language. Criticus will stick with that. The author of the original lyrics is unknown, but interestingly the children's writer E. Nesbit is the one who set the words to music.

The point here is that the coming of the holiday season prompts Criticus to issue his book recommendations to make things, if not merry, then bright.

My suggestions are strong on current books on politics, social issues, and current events. But be patient: next issue will feature, God willing, some items for both fantasy lovers and necrologists among you. So, onward.

Islam

Little by little the West is becoming aware of the Islamic threat. What's that? you say; who isn't aware of the Islamic threat? Well, the answer is just about everybody who constitutes the so-called Main Stream Media and those who get their information from those media sources.

WE ARE repeatedly told the troublemakers are "Islamic Extremists," "Islamo-Fascists," or "Islamic Fringe Groups." Then we are immediately assured that Islam is a religion of peace. Criticus for one is not buying this, and he is increasingly finding studies that support his view. Indeed, there are more such works

G.B. Tennyson is CPR's *St. Nicholas (feast day 6 December) who brings sweets to the sweet and ashes to the wooden shoes of the wicked.*

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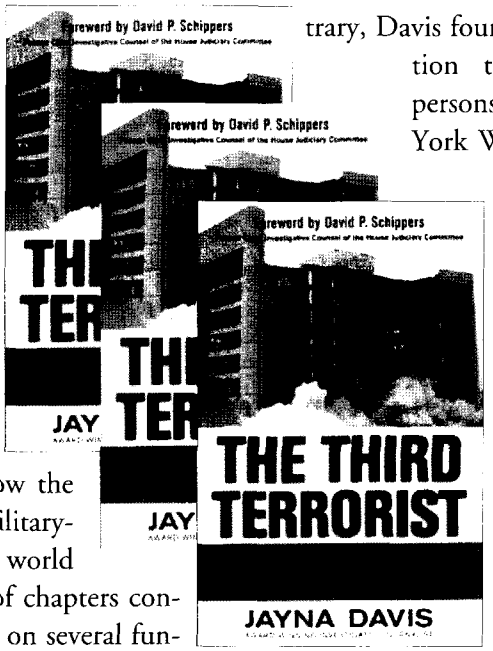
than can be looked at here. I cite only three that I think are least likely to reach a large audience.

The first of these is an instructive work by one Alvin J. Schmidt titled *The Great Divide: The Failure of Islam and the Triumph of the West* (Boston, 2004). Let not the subtitle fool you. The "failure" in question is the philosophical and theological failure of Islam, and the "triumph" is the superiority in those areas by Christianity and western thought. In other words this is not an account of how the West will win in the ongoing military-political struggle between these two world views. Rather, the book is a series of chapters contrasting Islamic and Western beliefs on several fundamental issues. These are the differences between Christ and Muhammad and on such matters as war, slavery, women, charity, justice, science, church, and state. There is also a chapter that justifies the Crusades, and a concluding chapter on political correctness and apologists for Islam. As Marvin Olasky writes in a Foreword to this work, those who understand the arguments of Schmidt's book will be "ready to enter into discussions with Muslims without offering either appeasement or shotgun-blast aggression." Well said, in a sage and temperate way. Criticus believes, however, that it has already come to shotguns. It's called the War on Terror.



ON A MUCH more specific topic we have Jayna Davis's *The Third Terrorist: The Middle East Connection to the Oklahoma City Bombing* (Nashville, 2004). This book has gained some attention but not enough. It is a thorough examination by a very capable and seasoned journalist and broadcaster of the infamous bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. Davis was a broadcaster in Oklahoma City at the time and one of the first on the scene. She followed the reports of John Doe 2 and became absorbed in the background of the bombing and those involved, to the point of spending almost a decade in pursuit of the facts in the case and in trying to persuade authorities that the bombing was not the isolated work of two deluded Americans. On the contrary, Davis found a clear Middle Eastern connection to the bombing that included persons connected with the first New York World Trade towers bombing that the U.S. government treated as a criminal rather than as a terrorist act, just as it subsequently treated the Murrah bombing

To follow the ins and outs and the trails of various middle-eastern fanatics and terrorists is to see an alarming conspiracy unfolding. More disheartening yet is to read of the involvement of American governmental officialdom in suppressing and even destroying evidence. Not surprisingly the buck leads to the FBI and the contemptible Janet Reno. One does not have to be a conspiracy theorist to be persuaded by Davis's account. Perhaps one does have to be a conspiracy nut like Criticus to believe the buck should have stopped higher up. Even David Schippers in his Foreword does not go so far, but the chief investigative counsel for the impeachment of Bill Clinton does not hesitate to say that had the various federal agencies and their investigators done their duty and not engaged in a cover-up and destruction of evidence, it is highly likely that the Twin Towers would be standing today. (As an aside, something doesn't quite smell right about the recent suicide by bomb strapped to his body outside the stadium during an Oklahoma football game by a "troubled" young man who had a Muslim roommate and was said by some to have attended a nearby mosque. The authorities have reacted as they did to the Murrah bombing. Hmm.)

Terrorism is, of course, the most visible aspect of Islamic *jihad* or holy war, but there is another, more sinister, and in the long run more dangerous aspect. It is the now longstanding association, cooperation, and cultural interaction of European governments with Islamic, especially Arab, governments. Related but even worse, in the Critical view, is the stream that has become a torrent of Muslims moving permanently into Europe. All this is leading towards a civilization of *dhimmitude,* of which more in a moment. To start

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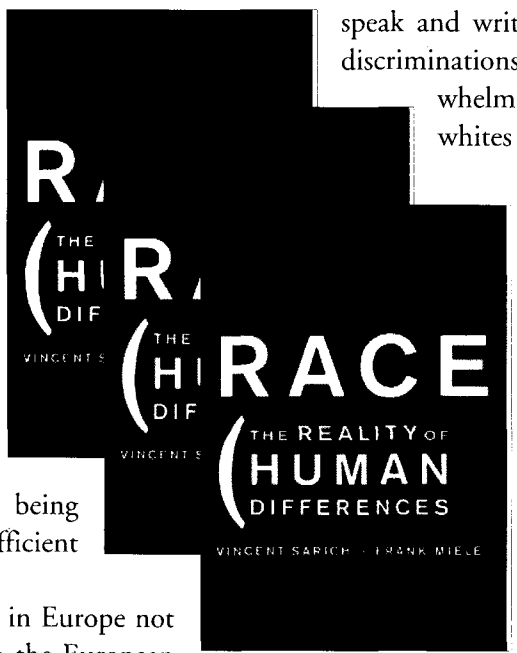
Constant Readers on the trail of these horrifying developments Criticus recommends *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* by Bat Ye'or (Madison NJ, 2005). Ms. Bat Ye'or was born in Egypt but normally writes in French, although this book was written directly in English, which is no small achievement.

EURABIA IS primarily about the political and social ties that have developed and increased in the past thirty years between European and Arab governments. It makes for heavy reading much of the time unless one is versed in the politics and foreign affairs of the various governments involved. The book itself provides much of this information, but it still requires background and close attention. What Criticus found most arresting in the 384 pages were the passages concerning the movement of peoples and the fact that this population shifting will only reinforce the cultural and governmental alliances, or even mergers, with Islamic powers leading at last to what Bat Ye'or calls the "Land of *Dhimmitude.*" The word comes from the Arabic *dhimmi.* She explains that "it refers to subjugated, non-Muslims or people that accept the restrictive and humiliating subordination to an ascendant Islamic power to avoid enslavement or death." It goes virtually without saying that a Eurabia in a state of *dhimmitude* would not only be intensely anti-Israel but equally anti-American, and of course effectively anti-European. The thought of all those cathedrals being turned into mosques is surely sufficient grounds for a new crusade.



There is now increasing debate in Europe not only about admitting Turkey into the European Union on the grounds that Turkey is Islamic and also not in Europe (apart from that toe in the Balkans). There is also increasing concern about Islamic immigrants, many of whom have effectively created enclaves where Islamic law and culture prevail. Let us hope that our European cousins will be favored with some translations of *Eurabia.*

We are told the troublemakers are 'Islamic Extremists,' 'Islamo-Fascists,' 'Islamic Fringe Groups.' Then we are assured that Islam is a religion of peace. Criticus for one is not buying this.

Race

No subject occupies the liberal mind as much as race. And on no subject is the liberal mind more schizophrenic than race. Lofty academic liberals have been telling us for some time now that there really is no such thing as race, that it is in fact a purely social construct based on superficial and unimportant physical characteristics. A 2003 PBS documentary proclaimed that race is an illusion, and listed ten points that "proved" this contention. At the same time academic liberals and their echo chambers in the media speak and write without cease of race, of racial discriminations, racial disparities, and the overwhelming degree of guilt and shame whites should endure for being white. Nor can there be remedy enough for the indignities whites have heaped upon blacks and now increasingly upon browns.

Among the proposed remedies are everything from reparations to be paid to the descendants of slaves to all sorts of affirmative action programs. But all of this sort of thinking is based on the presumption that there are races in the first place. The only way the *bien pensants* can square this circle is to affirm that, while there is no such thing as race, the common man thinks there is and behaves accordingly. Alas, so do liberal intellectuals. More striking yet, so apparently do blacks themselves. The hurricane Katrina coverage is just a recent demonstration of the black obsession with race. Yet more recently we learn from Toledo that unwelcome

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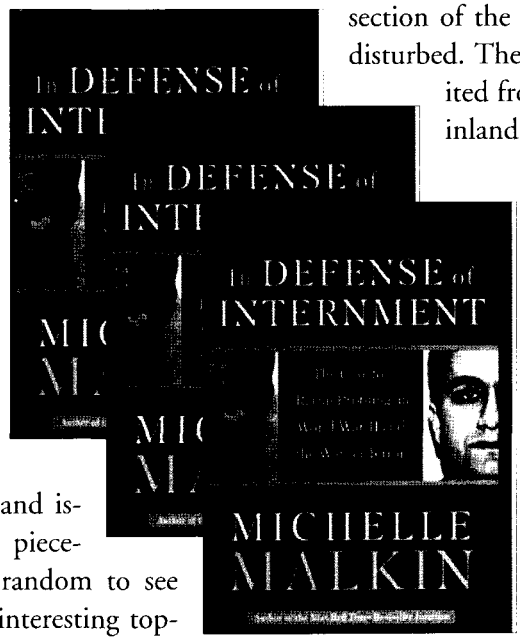
Lofty academic liberals tell us there really is no such thing as race. At the same time academic liberals and their echo chambers in the media speak and write without cease of race.

demonstrators have no right to intrude into "black turf."

All of the foregoing being said, it is still worthwhile, I think, to call attention to several recent books that confront the issue of race more forthrightly than anything one is likely to find in the evasive major media. The first is *Race: The Reality of Human Differences* by Vincent Sarich and Frank Miele (Boulder, CO, 2004). They were on the final draft of this book when the PBS series was broadcast with its ten points refuting the existence of race. They were thus able in the Preface to list the ten points and in parentheses to cite the chapter or chapters in the book that take on each of the points and give it a good drubbing. Another plus is that, although certainly scientific, *Race* is most readably written and not easy to put down.



Rather more uneven in readerly appeal, *A Race Against Time: Racial Heresies for the 21st Century,* ed. George McDaniel (Oakton, VA, 2003) is a selection of articles and reviews from the publication *American Renaissance.* It is even more uncompromising and politically incendiary than *Race* and also more wide-ranging in terms of topics and issues addressed. It lends itself to piecemeal reading, to be opened at random to see whether one has fallen upon an interesting topic. If not, flip a few pages further on and there is sure to be such a piece. The selections confront boldly such matters as race and intelligence, race and sexual behavior, race and crime, race and almost anything you can think of. And there is no shortage of pieces that flay the modern diversity and multi-cultural pushers. Nor do those perceived as lapsed brethren escape censure. For example, there is a piece on "The Decline of *National Review.*" There is something bizarre about having an East Indian (Ramesh Ponnoru) berate someone like an unreconstructed natural born American (Pat Buchanan). Welcome to the new century.

NOT EXACTLY on race as such but certainly impinging a good deal on the subject is the bold work of Michelle Malkin with *In Defense of Internment* (Washington, DC, 2004). Herself of Asian heritage, Malkin has never been a race-card or ethnic-card player. Certainly she is not such here, for she has undertaken to defend the American World War II policy of relocating first and second generation west coast Japanese ordered by Franklin Roosevelt and implemented by then California Governor Earl Warren. It pains Criticus no little bit to find that he must agree with Roosevelt and Warren about anything at all. At least he can point out, as Malkin does along the way, that America was equally if not more reprehensible in its treatment of German and Italian aliens. The Japanese were removed from west coast areas, not from the midsection of the country where they remained undisturbed. The other Axis internees were prohibited from residing on the east coast as far inland as the near Midwest. At least no one thought the Germano-Italian threat would come from across the Pacific. The U-Boat was an intrepid craft, but it did not circumnavigate the globe. No, the Yellow Peril came from the west.

Criticus used annually to have occasion to motor up and back virtually the entire length of Highway 395 from before Adelanto to beyond the Nevada state line, indeed almost all the way to Tahoe (one must finally turn west well into Nevada). A splendid scenic drive, by the way, and about to become ruined at least as far north as Bishop by the impending Aspenization of

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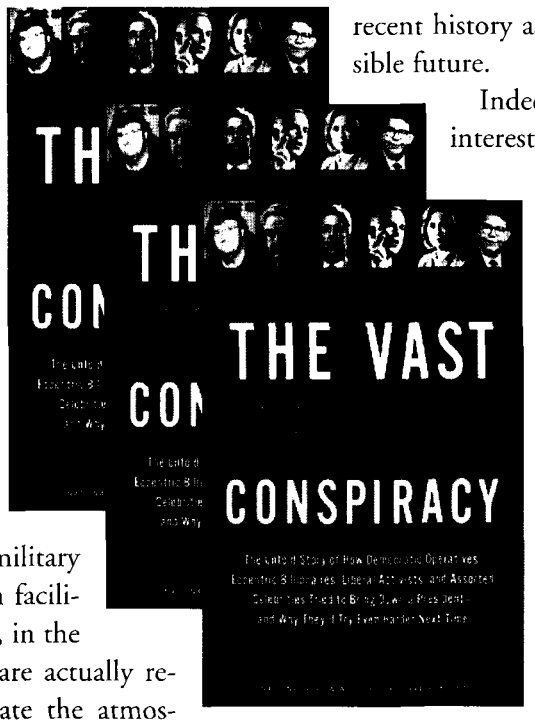
Mammoth, but let that pass. The point is that towards the southern end of the Owens Valley the drive takes one past Manzanar on the eastern side of the Sierra in a quite gorgeous setting. The remnants of this alleged "Concentration Camp" are still there, and rather tame they look. I think it proves only that Americans don't know how to do these things. As with the Italian *autostrade,* if you want to build a highway (or something more extensive like Manzanar), please let the Germans do it. Manzanar looks like an innocuous military training camp, fenced off as such facilities normally are. Now, of course, in the age of political correctness they are actually rebuilding a watchtower to re-create the atmosphere of the 1940s. Tell it to the British survivors of the Burma Railway and that famous bridge over the river Quai. What recompense did the Japanese government ever give to them?



Hillary Countered

As a final note Criticus recommends a work that has received a good deal of coverage and thus is not so likely to be overlooked by Constant Readers as some of the other titles mentioned above. It's just that its title does touch the funny bone in that it reverses the famous and fatuous remark of the Once and Would-be Future Witch of the White House. She it was who sought to dismiss the talk of President Bubba's having a sexual relationship with an intern by saying it was all "a vast right wing conspiracy." It turned out that that vast conspiracy was nothing other than a devil in a blue dress named Monica Lewinsky. Thus, one can only welcome Byron York's *The Vast Left Wing Conspiracy* (New York, 2005) for its exposition of what is a truly frightening coming together of those who would make America a wholly owned subsidiary of the Left.

York is the White House correspondent for *National Review.* His treatment in this book of such sinister horrors as Michael Moore, George Soros, John Kerry, Howard Dean, Al Franken, and, yes, Hillary Clinton should be on every right wing bookshelf. The reason is not so much to have a record of recent history as to have a warning about a possible future.

Indeed, it is the future that York is interested in above all. His final chapter is concerned with the future prospects for the Vast Leftwing Conspiracy. Those prospects, as York sees it, are not so dim as may at first appear from the results of the 2004 election. After all, the various persons and groups that make up the Conspiracy were really just learning their way, and they had a tendency to operate in what York calls a series of closed circles. They were also, of course, out of touch with the majority of Americans.

But York points out that Goldwater lost to Lyndon Johnson by 22 percentage points, whereas Kerry lost to Bush by only three points. The Conspiracy also altered the way money is raised and the way campaigns are run. It is not inconceivable that the conspirators will learn sufficient lessons to transform at least their appearance and to moderate their message so as to come before the public not as the goblins they are but as reasonable people. That should disturb anyone's sleep.

And To All a Good Night

Lest you go to bed depressed and disconsolate, here is a tidbit gleaned from one of those obituaries that patience will reward you with in the next number. It comes from an account of the life of an otherwise relatively obscure (for Americans) worthy who so excelled at making and restoring church organs that he set up and prospered with a company he named St. Peter's Organ Works. One day a would-be customer was seeking to find the aforementioned installation and stopped his vehicle in the unfamiliar location to call out to a passer-by, "Do you know St. Peter's Organ Works?" The man on the street replied, "Well, so does mine."

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First Things

Role reversal

by John Kurzweil

RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS'S "Journal of Religion, Culture, and Public Life," *First Things*, is one of America's best written, thought provoking, enlightening publications. My one quibble: it isn't about First Things. It's about current issues with arguments turning on ideas or principles falling somewhere between tenth and hundredth "Things."

The First Thing is God, and I have long thought it essential that we conservatives — meaning anyone devoted to the cause of personal freedom, the cause of the West — get back to emphasizing God as the basis for all we believe and for which we fight. Doing so brings a lot of at least temporarily avoidable opposition, but *not* doing so brings certain defeat.

Some defining: God is *the* First Thing in western philosophy, defined by Aristotle, by the Old Testament, and by the New, as the Prime Mover, the Supreme Being, the beginning, answering philosophy's opening question: where did we come from? (God is also the Final Thing, our natural destiny, answering both: *why are we here?* and *where are we bound?*, but those are not my concerns here.) The atheists' response is his one response to everything: nothing — we came from nothing, *i.e.*, Darwinian evolution (and anyone who thinks Darwinism is compatible with belief in God should think again, but that too is not my immediate concern.)

But God as merely prime mover is not necessarily of any concern to us. The God of the Bible, of the West, is much more than some disembodied concept like the Big Bang. He is, most obviously in His Incarnation as Jesus Christ, intimately involved in everything about us to the point of being arbiter of our eternal fate. The God of the West is objective reality in our lives. Men try to escape this reality by limiting their minds to thinking about God as merely the first concept (echoing pagan philosophy) or Deism's forever open (and ultimately irrelevant) question or the undefined, ultimately unreal imaginary figment of myth — all attempts to contain God within our personal definition of Him, but none of these is the God of our civilization.

That God transforms everything. In politics, He, and, therefore, His commandments, are above every man. The Romans, failing, at first, to appreciate the absolutely revolutionary implications of this first truth about God articulated in the Christian religion, began by leaving that religion alone. When the truth became clear, they tried, and failed, to destroy it through persecution. This liberating truth — that the King has his realm, but God comes first — blossomed eventually in our Declaration of Independence: all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and government that fails to respect them simply dissolves its own legitimacy.

Today, perhaps strangely, while the left has retained a very much alive appreciation of this revolutionary implication of the God of the West, many conservatives seem to have lost it. For too many of us, religion is pleasant, wholesome, beneficial, but ultimately a private matter. While the left, most obviously in the current battle over the judiciary, carries forward its relentless attack on the *political* meaning of the God of the Bible, friends of freedom timidly seek to dodge the issue, for instance: nominating Harriet Meirs.

THIS IS role reversal: the left treating God as real, a reality (in their case) to be resisted with might and main — precisely the truth (God's reality) that defined our western politics two thousand years ago and, before that, in Pharaoh's Egypt and, before that, "in the beginning." Conservatives, meanwhile, treat the same subject as a matter of small importance, as less than the political machinations of the moment, behaving like pagans whose gods never emerged from their myths to play any real role in their lives.

Next: First Thing's five aspects. CPR

John Kurzweil is CPR's *editor.*

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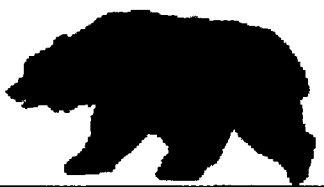

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